



विद्या प्रसारक मंडळ, ठाणे

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विद्या प्रसारक मंडळाच्या

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**SHRI KRISHNARAO HANMANTRAO KABBUR**  
**MATUNGA, BOMBAY.**

**Respectfully Dedicated**

**TO**

**K. H. KABBUR, Esq.,**

*The Kannada Merchant Prince of Bombay.*

**For his nobility of mind, spirit of humiliation  
and deep love for the mother country.**



## PREFACE

Five and ten years ago, when myself and my colleagues were put behind the iron bars of the Hindalga Prison as Congress detainees. I received the first glimpses of the glory of Karnāṭaka in the past. Karnāṭaka really held an eminent position in world culture. Whereas the beginnings of the land of Karnāṭaka can be traced to the early geological period, those of the early man reach the precincts of pre-historic times. In fact the first ancestor of the Dolichocephalic race seems to have originated in the Deccan *plateau*. It was from this land that this race travelled towards the Northern India, and to the far off countries like Egypt, Sumer, Iberia and other parts of the world. In our opinion a careful investigation by archæologists in this direction shall definitely bear fruitful results and show how Karnāṭaka was directly connected with the early civilizations of Mohenjo Daro, Egypt, Sumer, Iberia and Ireland.

As in the proto-historic period, Karnāṭaka has built rich and masterly traditions in the field of art and architecture, polity and economy, religion and philosophy and other allied branches of culture during the later periods of history. The early history of the Mauryas, Sātavāhanas, Cuṭus, Kadambas, Gaṅgas of Talkād, Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, Yādavas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara fully indicate this. We have dealt here with the ancient and medieval periods alone.

If we look at the map of Karnāṭaka we find that during the different periods of history, the Kannada rulers had under their suzerainty the Mālavas, Lāṭas (Gurjars) and the three Mahārāṣṭrakas in the North and almost all the non-Kannada dynasties in the South. It is also worth noting that, in spite of this, these provinces made sincere efforts towards the building up of their own empires in the domain of culture.

Karnāṭaka stands divided today. In fact the Kannada Districts of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore and Coorg, part of the Nizam's Dominions and of the other States in the Deccan, and the Districts of Bellary and Mangalore of the Madras Presidency are still capable of being brought with a great facility under a *United Karnāṭaka*.

Besides the standard works of Dr. J. F. Fleet, Mr. B. L. Rice, Dr. R. Sewell, and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, I am directly indebted to the eminent works of Prof. G. M. Moraes, Prof. M. Krishna Rao, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Prof. William Coelho, and the Rev. H. Hieras, S. J., in regard to the respective sections in the chapter on the 'Outlines of Political History'; to Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, in connection with the sections on Prehistory and Dolmens and Cairns (Chapter I); and to Mr. E. P. Rice and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimbacharya regarding the chapter on 'Literature'. We are also indebted to the excellent works of Dr. B. A. Saletore, Mr. S. B. Joshi, Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Mr. Masti Venkatesh Iyengar, Mr. B. B. Chitguppi, Mr. Dinkar A. Desai and Mr. G. I. M. D'Silva.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Shri K. H. Kabbur, the Kannada Merchant Prince of Bombay, without whose munificent contribution this work would not have seen the light of the day. He is *the* noble Kannadiga, who has for the first time stretched the arms of business both in the Eastern and Western hemisphere. Those who have come into contact with him know how this master-mind is endowed with a unique combination of the spirit of humiliation and nobility of mind.

Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, M. A., D. Litt., Director General of Archaeology in India, has laid me under his deepest obligations by making excellent suggestions in the original of Chapter I.

I must express my deep indebtedness to the late eminent *Savant* Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, under whose guidance I was first working on the present subject for the Ph. D. course.

I have to express my sincere thanks to my friends Mr. D. V. Rangnekar, B. A. (Hons.), Mr. S. V. Shitut, B. A. (Hons.), Mr. S. V. Prabhu, M.A., Principal N.G. Tavkar, B.A. (Hons.), Mr. B. Anderson, M.A., Mr. G. V. Chulki, and Mr. A.M. Annigeri, M.A., for all the help they have rendered to me by making valuable suggestions. I heartily thank Dr. K. S. Kamalapur, M.B.B.S., Hon. Secretary, and the members of the Executive Board of the Karnāṭaka Vidyāvārdhaka Sangha, for having undertaken the publication of the work. I am extremely thankful to my friend Mr. H. M. Priyolkar, for having stood by me in all my hours of need. The decent printing of the work is entirely due to the special care taken by Mr. G. P. Oak,

Manager, and his colleagues in the Bombay Vaibhav Press. I heartily thank them all and also Mr. R. R. Bakhale. I am sincerely thankful to Mr. P. S. Mokashi, Times of India, Bombay, for taking personal care in preparing the blocks. I cannot forget the unique services rendered to me by Mrs. Sushilabai by finding out the necessary sources and arranging the research slips, and by her children Masters Jagadish and the late Govinda, and Miss Mirā, who have been specially trained by her not to touch the written materials lying on my study table.

Nizam's Guest House,  
Bhandarkar O. R. Institute,  
Poona 4.  
14th June, 1947.

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A. P. Karmarkar

# CORRIGENDA

PAGE	LINE	INSTEAD OF	READ
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32(176)	27(2)	Kon-ki-ni-pu-lo	Kung-kan-na-pu-lo
64		Footnotes 2,3,4 and 5	should be read as 1,2,3,4
87	22	exists	existed
90	23	Sirimllaga	Sirimallaga
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"	14	Guddavol	Guddavve
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x	18	Beal, Si-yu-ki	Bernier
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54	10	Deśhināmamālā	Caṭṭhavalḡṇaṭṭha
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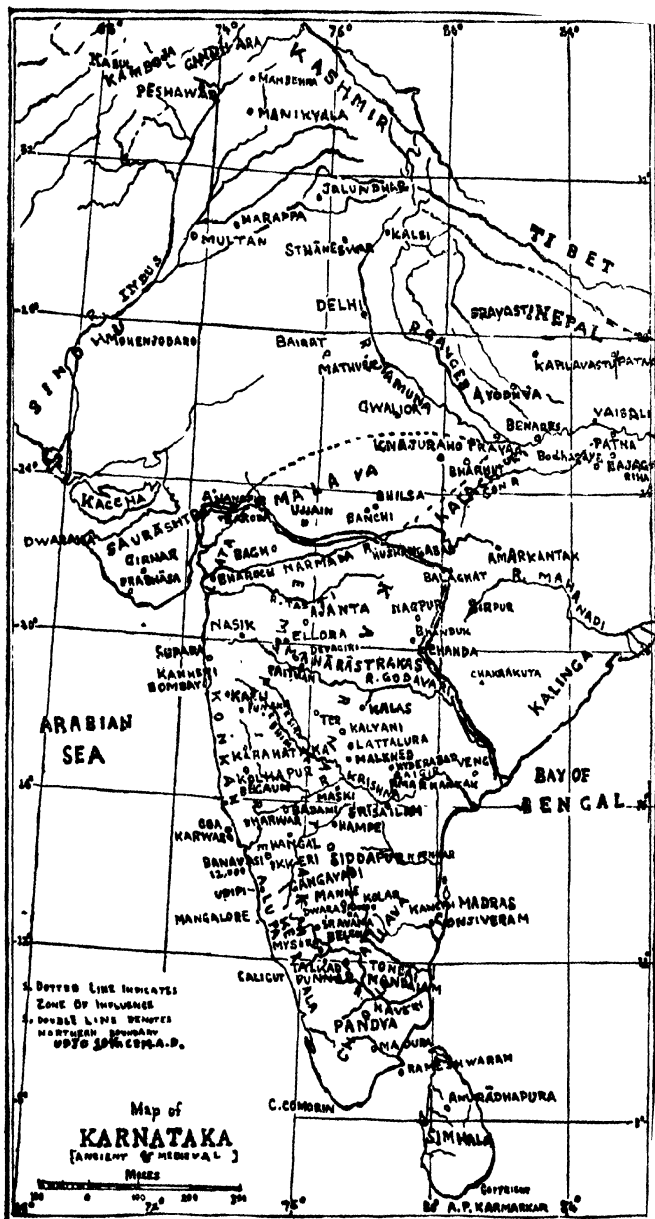
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 ments in India, and others.

Other works, often equally important with the foregoing, are  
 cited in the individual chapters and therefore not repeated here.

CULTURAL HISTORY  
OF  
KARNATAKA



## CHAPTER I

### PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT KARNATAKA

**Introductory**—Modern Karnāṭaka—Geology—Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Iron Ages—Dolmens and Cairns—Dakṣiṇāpatha, Mohenjo-Daro and other countries—R̥gvedic period and after.

#### I Introductory

Karnāṭaka has had a long and glorious past. Like some of the other countries of the world, we see in this province and its neighbourhood the working of the Early Man, who created a life for himself here, and travelled northwards up to the foot of the Himālayas, after the retreating of the great ice-sheet. Nay, we even find that the rock-system, which is called as Dharwarian, is said to be existing since the beginnings of the early geological period. And after the passage of the different geological periods, the Early Man is said to have made his appearance here. In our opinion, it was this early man, who must have been the ancestor of the makers of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization. The early designation of these people is still unknown to history. They were known as Dravidians later on in the Western hemisphere, and still later on in the Eastern, as the connotation Pañca-Drāviḍas would indicate it. The people of Karnāṭaka took part in the great Bhārata war. And after a glorious epoch of the Sātakarṇi rulers, Karnāṭaka enjoyed a unique and solemn glory for a period of over one thousand years under the rulership of the vigorous dynasties of the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūtas, the Seuṇas of Deogiri, the Hoysaḷas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and others. In all these different periods, Karnāṭaka has maintained a noble outlook for all the centuries to come in the various branches of culture. During this period, it has reared the three of the prominent schools of Indian philosophy, namely, those of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva. The tenet of Basava again has shown the most wonderful reformist inclinations in the field of religion and philosophy. In all these centuries Karnāṭaka has created a unique position for herself in the history of the world, by fostering masterly traditions in the field of polity, socio-economic organization, education, art and architecture, and others.

The entire history of Karnāṭaka can be divided into four periods: (1) Pre-and Proto-historic Period; (2) Ancient Period; (3) Medieval Period; and, finally, (4) Modern period. The Periods are generally of an overlapping nature and no definite line of demarcation could be drawn between each other. We are here mainly concerned with the first three periods only.

## II Modern Karnataka

In the opinion of the wise men of Karnāṭaka to-day the tract of the Kannāḍa speaking people stretches itself between latitudes 11° N and 19° N, and longitudes 74° E and 78° E, thus covering an area of 65,000 sq. miles, its maximum from North to South being 500 miles, and from East to West 250 miles. It has now Maḥārāṣṭra in the North, Āndhra and Tāmīl-nāḍu in the East and the South, and Keraḷa and the Arabian sea in the South-West. The three natural divisions of Karnāṭaka are: (1) The coastal plain; (2) The region of the Western Ghats; and (3) The plains designated as *Bailusīme* in Kannāḍa. The main rivers situated in Karnāṭaka are: the Kṛṣṇā, the Bhīmā, the Tūṅgabhadṛā and the Kāverī. The water-falls of Ger-soppa, Unchali (or Lushington Falls), the Lalgali, the Magoda, the Gokāk, the Śivasamudra and the Pykara are well-known. The highest mountain peaks existing here can be described as: the Sahyādri (with an average of 3000 ft. above sea-level), the Baba-budangiri (6414 ft.), Kuduremukha ( 6215 ft. ), Mullayangiri (6317 ft.), the Doddabetta—the highest peak on the Nilgiris ( 8642ft. ), consisting of health resorts like Otacamund and Connoor. The main soils of Karnāṭaka are black and red, suited for rice, jwāri, wheat, pulses, rāgi, oil-seeds, gingelly, saf-flower, cotton, sugar-cane, coffee, tea, tobacco and betel-nut. It is rich in its mineral wealth there being ores of gold, iron, manganese, chrome, pyrites, mica, asbesters etc., and the building stone, clay, slate, granite, marble and lime-stones. The main forest-products are the sandal-wood, teak and bamboo. The Amṛtmaḥāl bulls and the elephants of Mysore are of historic fame.

## III Geology

Eminent geologists have maintained the existence of a Mesozoic Indo-African-Australian continent—the separation of which took place in early Tertiary times. Thus in Gondavana times—the above

period being so designated—India, Africa, Australia and possibly South America had a closer contact permitting of a commingling of plants and land animals. This Gondavana system was based on the Dharwar rocks.

The Dharwar system of rocks is of hoary antiquity belonging to the most primitive era of geology i.e. the Archaeon. These rocks are rich in minerals like iron, manganese, chromium, copper, gold, lead, gems and semi-precious stones. The iron ores in the Central Provinces and Bellary, copper ores in Singbhum, and gold in the quartz are instances to the point. These foundation rocks have spread themselves to a large extent in the Deccan Peninsula, Rājputāna and partly Himālayas.

The Deccan trap is characterized by the eruptive activity which took place just during the period of the close of the Mesozoic and the opening of the Cainozoic era. It is described that the great lava-flows which make by far the chief part of this formation, constitute the plateau of the Deccan, connecting all other rocks over an area of 200,000 sq. miles, filling up the old river valleys, and levelling the surface of the country. The Sātpurā outliers, the Sahyādri Range, the Girnar and Pawagad hills, and seven-eighth of the area of Kathiawar, now centres of peaceful industry and agriculture, are merely the few weathered remnants of that volcanic deposit cut out by the denuding agents from the vast plateau of lava-flows, known in geology as the Deccan trap series.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the Nummulitic period of the Tertiary era marks the advent of a new period which caused a complete severance between India and Africa. The Arabian Sea and the Himālayas make their appearance. The early growth of vegetation, reptiles and then bigger animals make place for the *Early Man* and his associates in the Post-Tertiary period. It is also worth noting that the Chellean and Acheulian tools in the Narmadā Valley are found in association with the middle Pleistocene fauna—*Elephas Namadicus* and *Hippopotamus*. This evidently marks the period of transition.

#### IV Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Iron Ages

Like the North of India, Karnāṭaka also seems to have passed through the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Iron Ages.

1. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjara-deśa*, I, p. 9.

respectively. Whereas the Palæolithic and the Neolithic are common phases in early civilization, the Bronze (as in Europe) or the Copper Age (as in Mohenjo-Daro) sometimes preceded the Iron Age. At Maski and Chandravalli we find the close association of copper implements and the microliths. This age of copper is designated as Chalcolithic. From the process of chipping hard flints in Palæolithic times, the Early Man learnt the art of grinding and polishing in the Neolithic period. Eminent geologists maintain that a long period must have intervened between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic times. Bruce Foote has pointed out that the Palæolithic finds were found deposited in the region of the banks of Sābarmati, at a depth of 200 ft. deeper than those of the Neolithic period. Karnāṭaka has still to make a vast progress in this direction.

The recent discoveries made by Dr. Sankalia are capable of throwing a wonderful light on the history of the Early Man—from the point of view of both Anthropology and Sociology. Before this Bruce Foote and others have already done the spade work in this direction. Their results may here be summarized first.

The earliest implements of man were discovered in the Chingleput District by Bruce Foote (Nos. 2204, 7, 8, 9 of Foote collection in the Madras Museum), and later by Cammaide, Krishnaswamy and Manlay, in other parts of the Madras Presidency.<sup>1</sup>

Exactly similar implements were found by Foote in the bed of the Sābarmati river near Saḍolia and Peḍhāmli, both of which are situated in the Vijapur Taluka of the Baroda State. The specimen No. 3248 from Kot-saḍolia, and No. 3306 from Peḍhāmli are hand axes. No. 3247 from Saḍolia is a flake. The hand-axe discovered at Saḍolia is 'U' shaped (7" × 4"), and made out of a coarse, gritty pinkish white quartzite pebble. The other at Peḍhāmli is 'oval' (6" × 3"), made out of coarse, gritty quartzite.

All the above implements have the same kind of 'butt-end straight or oblique, sharp-edge'; and the use of 'step-technique' is evident in all cases.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Antiquity*, IV, 1930, 327 ff; and Fig. 3. Pre-historic Man Round Madras, 1938, pl. IV; *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, XIII, pp. 58-90.
2. Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



As Dr. Sankalia has pointed out, the ovate hand-axes (Nos. 1064/39, 1066/39, and 1069/39) and the cleaver No. 1069/23 from Africa (all these are kept in the Madras Museum), bear exactly similar features as the above-a fact, which naturally supports the conclusion reached by scholars in regard to the close cultural contact between India and Africa in the early period.<sup>1</sup>

Coggin Brown has described many of the cleavers obtained on Malaprabhā and its tributaries.<sup>2</sup> The specimen from Bijapur (No. 2898, placed in the Madras Museum) is 'a pointed ovate with wavy edge over 8" in length and of buff-coloured quartzite, resembling a similar implement from South Africa; and No. 2896 is an ovate hand-axe, about 5½" in length.'

It is worth noting that some of the early types of the Chellean and the late Acheulean cordate or pyriform hand-axes found at Chauntra, on the banks of the Sohan in the Punjab, are said to bear a close similarity with the early hand-axe technique of Madras.<sup>3</sup> Further, the Godāvarī also has provided us with the pre-historic implements at both the extremities of its upper reaches.

A study of the microliths obtained in the various parts of the Dakṣiṇāpatha is very interesting. Beautiful microliths of chalcedony, agate and carnelian were obtained in association with pottery, seal, beads, etc. at Maski, in the Hyderabad State.<sup>4</sup> At Roppa (near Brahmagiri, Mysore State) the microliths began to be found in association with painted and polished pottery between layers at a depth of 5' and 8½' respectively. The pottery found beneath the lower layer was rather coarser. Therefore it is pointed out that this must belong to the 'early neolithic-microlithic culture, parallel to the Campignian of France.'<sup>5</sup>

Gujarat has provided us with very important finds. Bruce Foote found pieces of broken pottery and microliths all over the valley:

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Catalogue of Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 49-57 (Nos. 204, 212, 227, 228, 269).
3. De Terra and Patterson, *The Ice Age and other Associated Human Cultures*; Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
4. AR, AD. Nizam's Dominions, 1939, 16.
5. M. H. Krishna, 'Presidential Address', *Section of Anthropology*, 29th Science Congress, Baroda, 1942, 23-26.

of Sābarmati, Watrak, Orsang, Hiran, Tāpti and other rivers; and small pigmy tools, potsherds, beads, chank-shell and pieces of bronze bangles in the Amreli Taluka of the Baroda State in Kathiawar. The microliths obtained in Gujarat are made out of agate, carnelian chert, jasper, quartz (milky, at times, limpid or crystal), less frequently blood-green, or, amazon stone. These implements consist of rectangular, or similarly shaped long blades, crescents or lunates, scraper-discs, cores or nodules.<sup>1</sup> Foote observes that the tools and pot-sherds belong to the Neolithic Age, and Iron slags to that of the Iron.

The remains of pottery found at Amri, on the right bank of the Indus, and at Khijaria, Tappa and Dhalkania possess similar features. The similarity of the 'black-on-red' pottery, terra-cotta cakes etc., found in these regions is a feature of great importance. This shows how all these centres of civilization were working in close association in days of yore. The Mohenjo-Daro people also might have made an easy use of the amazon stone either from the Nilgiris or from the region of the Sābarmati.

The important discoveries made by Dr. Sankalia deserve a special mention here. We have already summarized part of his discoveries above.<sup>2</sup> But the third Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition headed by this great scholar have been able to discover five different skulls-one of them being that of a female, at Langhnaj in Gujarat.<sup>3</sup> They found in this area mammal bones-vertebræ of fish and innumerable pieces of the sweet water-tortoise (*Trionyx Gangeticus*). Dr. Sankalia opines that, the degree of fossilization of the human and animal remains seems to be the same and they appear to be contemporary, and that the finds depict a purely hunting culture, the animals hunted being pigs, goats, deer, horses, etc.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Dr. Iravati Karve's remarks are significant in this connection: 'The height, the slenderness of the bones, smallness of the joints, the relatively very long lower arms, the dolicho-cephaly, the well developed

1. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjara-desa*, I, pp. 23-24.

2. Sankalia, *Investigation into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat*, Baroda, 1944.

3. Sankalia, *Preliminary Report on the Third Gujarat Expedition*, Bombay, 1945.

4. *Ibid*, p. 5.

occipital region, the very slightly negroid appearance of one of the skulls, as also the smallness of the pelvic bones would suggest, at the present stage of inquiry, that the skeletons show Hamitic Negroid characteristics and are of people akin to those of the north-east of Africa and perhaps to proto-Egyptian.<sup>1</sup>

### V Dolmens and Cairns

A study of the Megalithic tombs in Karnāṭaka is of special interest to a student of prehistory. The early burial systems are differently designated as Barrow, Tumuli, Cromlech, Dolmen, Cairn Kistvaen and Menhir. These are spread over the different provinces of India: Karnāṭaka, the extreme Southern parts, Mahārāṣṭra, Orissa and Assam. Outside India they are spread over the whole zone of Japan, Iberia (the present Spain), Portugal, England and Ireland, in brief, from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia.

The Cromlechs were discovered on the sites of Jīwarajī<sup>2</sup> near Farozabad, near Bhīmā, on the Nilgiri Hills, on the Mailgherry Hills, at a place about thirty miles south of Ooxoor, at Nalkenary in Malbar, Ungadapoor and Mungary near Vellore, and in the forests of Orissa.<sup>3</sup> Kitt's Cooty House near Aylesford in Kent and those found in Brittany or at Plas Newydd in Anglesea are of the same type. The Kistvaens or closed Cromlechs are described as existing in England and Wales, 'frequently occurring in those places most favoured by the Druids.'<sup>4</sup> Like the holed Domens in England

1. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

2. Meadows Taylor, 'Ancient Remains at the Village of Jīwarajī etc. J. B. B. R. A. S., IV.

3. *Ibid.* They are defined by him as:

(1) *Cromlechs*, or Stone Moles, are constructed with three flat stones or slates, placed edgeways in the ground enclosing three sides of a square or parallelogram, as supports or walls, with one at the top as a cover usually the north or north west. There is also a flooring of slabs.

(2) *Cairns and Barrows*: Consist of circles of large stones, sometimes single, sometimes double, enclosing a space under which is a grave or graves, as stone chest or chests in which bodies or sometimes funeral urns have been deposited. They are of two kinds: those containing urns filled with human ashes, bones and charcoal; and, (2) the other in which bodies have been interred without urns, filled with ash and charcoal, but accompanied by rude images, arms, earthen, iron and brass utensils, and the like,

4. *Ibid.*

France and Germany they were also discovered at Adichanallur in the Tinnevely District. The skulls obtained therein are of special interest. And as Huxley points out, they show a close contact between the Egyptian, Dravidian and Australoid races.<sup>1</sup>

The closed Cromlechs or Dolmens discovered on the Nilgiri Hills have provided us with unique features of their own. 'A number of weapons and implements were discovered embedded in a thick layer of charcoal in a stone circle between Coonoor and Kartari on the Nilgiri. Further, a miniature buffalo's head of hard baked clay, a human head of the size of a lime, of the same, the hair being represented by little dotted rings and a small sickle-shaped iron knife were unearthed in a Cairn at Kotagiri'. Sometimes there are many cells in these Cromlechs. The closed Dolmens were discovered in the forests and hill-slopes of the Deccan and Telugu Districts of the Kṛṣṇā, Godāvārī, Karnul and Anantpur, and half-closed Dolmens in large groups in the hilly forests particularly in the Bijapur, Dharwar and Belgaum Districts.

The Mysore and Coorg variety of Dolmens present another feature before us. Being either below the ground level or above the surface of the land, they are generally surrounded by a symmetrical circle of boulders half-imbedded in the ground, while the dwellings have in the place of the imbedded boulders, traces of a sort of compound walls of vertical slabs. They were discovered in Coorg, in the Mysore side of the Kāvērī, at Honnāvar, Pugāmve, Hungund and Honnali. Sometimes there are two chambers in the same compartment divided by a partition stone. They are also sometimes in groups of two to four or of six to seven as is the case on the Pulney Hills. Dr. M. H. Krishna observes that, the prehistoric Iron Age Cromlechs at Honnāvar and Pugāmve suggest that their authors were ancient gold miners as the names of the places indicate the existence of gold mines in the ancient period.<sup>2</sup>

The *Pāṇḍu Kolis* of Malabar 'are chambers purposely excavated in the rock below the surface, generally in the laterite which

1. Huxley, 'The Geographical Distribution of the chief Modifications of Man-kind', 280. cf. Panchamukhi, 'Dolmens and Cairns in Karnataka' *Journal of the University of Bombay.*, XIV, Pt IV, p. 23.

2. cf. Panchamukhi, *op. cit* p. 35.

abounds in that District, with a circle of stones buried from one to four feet.' They are also designated as *Kodey Kalls* or *Topie Kalls*.

Next in importance are the Cairns at Raigir in the Hyderabad State, in the old fort area of Machnur, near two miles from Brahmapurī in the Paṇḍharpur Taluka of the Sholapur District, Cromlechs and Dolmens in the Raichur and Gulbarga Districts, Cairn and Cromlech located side by side at the site of Gacchi Baole, near Golconda in the Atrāf-i-Baldah District; and Cairns at Āgaḍi in the Haveri Taluka of the Dharwar District. There are about one hundred Dolmens or properly speaking 'Cromlechs' at Konṇur (Belgaum District). They are situated on the slope of the hills and are designated as *Pāṇḍavara-mane* (house of Pāṇḍavas), or *guhe* (cave), or *Monisa-phāḍi* or *Munivasa-phāḍi* (*phāḍi*=rock-shelters) or *Tāpasi-maraḍi* (mounds for ascetics). They are partly buried underground. Those which are fully on the surface are the ones discovered on the Rāmatīrtha Hill near Bādāmi, on the Hills near Aihole, on the slope of the hill near Bachingud, at Moṭebennur near Byāḍgi, and on the hills at Koppal near Gadag.

A study of the Dolmens in Karnāṭaka and other parts of India should really act as a revelation in the field of research. The excavations carried on by Dr. Sankalia at Langhnaj, if pursued with greater zeal, should really help us in finding out the home of the *early man*. This early man seems to have borne similar features with those of the proto-Egyptian, who had also formed the habit of tomb-building. As geology helps us in assuming the existence of the early man in the Deccan trap, it is not impossible that this man must have acted as the maker of the Mohenjo-Daro civilization later on. The Dravidians need not have arrived in India from abroad as some scholars assume it.

It has been pointed out that the several signs of Mohenjo-Daro script are found in the prehistoric pottery of the Tinnevely District, in rock-inscriptions in the Nilgiris, and tombs in the Hyderabad.<sup>1</sup> Thus they show a contact of these people with those

1 Heras, 'New Light on the Mohenjo-Daro Riddle,' *The New Review*, July, 1936, p. 7.

in Central Asia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Sergi observes that, 'The characters called Phœnician are only a derived form of the alphabetic-form signs that appeared during prehistoric times in Africa, in the Mediterranean and in Western Europe.'

The Megalithic tombs contain objects like urns of good strong pottery, knives, spear-heads, brass-cups, beads, bells, etc. The objects may belong to different ages. The fine bronze vases and other ornamental objects discovered in the tombs on the Nilgiris prove an extensive sea-borne trade. The discovery of the oblong terra-cotta sarcophagi standing on short legs in the tombs at Pallavaram and other places show a keen contact between India, Babylon and Assyria in ancient times.

One may naturally ask, where did this idea of Dolmen-building actually originate? As we have expressed above, it must have first arisen in South India alone. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa refers to the round burial mounds (*parimaṇḍalāni smaśānāni*) of the Asuras in the eastern and other directions (evidently southern).<sup>1</sup> The Mahābhārata refers to the early spread of the Eḍukas throughout the world on the advent of Kaliyuga.<sup>2</sup> The expression *eḍuka* is evidently derived according to Kittel from the Dravidian root, *elu*, 'bone'. This was also the ancestor of the later Stūpa. Thus the above evidence, as read with what has been said by Kittel, really proves the South Indian origin of Dolmen-building. The system prevailing among the *Druids*—who are always referred to in the literature of the West, is another important proof in this connection.

## VI The Gombigudda Hill and Cinder-Mounds

Mr. Panchamukhi has pointed out two instances from Karnāṭaka in this connection. He observes that, the following finds were discovered at Herekal, situated on the northern bank of the Ghaṭa-prabhā (Bijāpūr District): Conch-shells cut to different sizes to prepare various kinds of ornaments, beads, toy articles, etc; peculiar two legged stone stands; broken pieces of conch-shells, shell and glass bangles and ornaments, and pieces of red painted polished pottery with lines of punched dots on the skirt the red surface showing in a case or two diagrams in white streaks the back of it

1. *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 13,8,2,1.

2. For a fuller description Cf. *infra* under *Art and Architecture*.

having a thick black slip.<sup>1</sup> The last finds are similar to those discovered at Maski, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli.

The next important discovery is the linear carvings and drawings on the rocky slopes of the western, north-western, and eastern parts of the hill designated as Gombigudda (Hill of pictures, situated between Asāṅgī and Kulbaḷḷi. These linear drawings cut  $\frac{1}{8}$ " deep consist of the figures of fighting bulls with prominent humps and long pointed horns, men, camels with rider, mounted elephant, deer, antelope, palanquin-bearers.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fawcett, while speaking of those on the Kappagallu Hill, observes, 'Oxen with prominent humps and very long horns, different in type to the existing breeds, are the favourite subjects of these pictures; but representations of men and women (always naked) are frequent, dogs, antelopes, deer, leopards, elephants and peacocks also appear. Some few of the pictures clearly distinguishable from the others are modern in origin but it seems permissible to conjecture that the remainder are connected with prehistoric settlement.'<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that there are similar isolated finds at Singhanpur in the Raigarh State of the Eastern States Agency, the Attock District of the Punjab and Edekal caves in Malabar.

Further there are the discoveries of 'pigmy flints'-being the memorials of the survivors of palaeolithic men, the cinder-mound at Budiguntha being the result of the wholesale holocausts of animals, and implements of the Neolithic period-polished on gneiss-rocks, and wheel-made pottery, stone beads and pieces of haematite for the manufacture of pigment.

## VII Daksinapatha, Mohenjo-Daro and other Countries

The recent discoveries in the Indus Valley sites have thrown a wonderful light on the early civilization of the Indians in the Chalcolithic period. The finds obtained there show a close cultural similarity between India and the other parts of Asia and Europe. Father Heras has pointed out: 'we find Minei in the Yemen corner of the Arabian Peninsula (Strabo) and the Minias in Boetia, Northern

1. Panchamukhi, *Annual Report of the Kannada Research in Bombay Province*, 1941, pp. 21-22.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Madras District Gazetteer*, Bellary, p. 234.

Greece, perhaps the ancient colonies of the ancient Minas of India, and there are reasons to state that the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, of ancient Egyptians, Hittites of Syria, the Phoenicians, the Minos of Crete and Mycaeneans of the continent, the Etruscans of Italy and the Iberians of Spain were but off-shoots of the great Proto-Indian family. They even travelled from Spain to far-off Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

That the early Sumerians were in direct contact with the people of Dakṣiṇāpatha is proved by a cylindrical seal kept in the Museum of Nagpur.<sup>2</sup> It represents the standing figure of a god and goddess. Rev. Heras observes that it belongs to the third dynasty of Ur.<sup>3</sup> The seal is set in an artistic gold handle representing two snakes.

However, there seems to have been a keener contact between Mohenjo-Daro and Dakṣiṇāpatha including Karnāṭaka. The Indus Valley people seem to have made use of the Amazon stone from the Nilgiris and the region of the Sabarmati. The Chalcolithic period was a common feature of both the North and the South. The green stone required for the beautiful cup discovered at Mohenjo-Daro was taken from Mysore. The signs on pottery obtained in the South and on the rocks on Gombigudda hill bear close similarity with those of the Mohenjo-Daro.

Best of all the inscriptional and other Archaeological data at our disposal point to the same fact.

Some of the seals found in the Indus Valley sites bear the representation of the three-faced figure of Śiva seated in a *yogic* posture.<sup>4</sup> As Sir John Marshall has pointed out, the images of the three-faced figure of Śiva are found in the temples of Devāṅgaṇa near Mount Abu, at Melcheri, near Kāveri Joakkam in the North Arcot District, near the Gokāk falls in the Belgaum District, at Chitagarh in Udaipur State, and, according to Gopinatha Rao (the Mahesāmūrti) at Elephanta.<sup>5</sup> An image of Śiva similar to that of the one at Elephanta is recently discovered near Thāṇā District (Bombay Presidency).

1. Heras, *Ms.*

2. *Nagpur Numismatic Supplement*, XXIV, No. 140.

3. Heras, *Ms.*

4. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, Plate XII, No. 17.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 53.



The origin of some of the tribes of Southern India could be traced to the Mohenjo-Daro period i.e. the Minas or Matsyas, the Nāgas, the Abhīras, the Māhīśikas, the Ajas (or Haṭṭikāras as Mr. S. B. Joshi points out), and the Vānaras or Koḍagus. We shall summarize their activities in Karnāṭaka briefly.

The various inscriptions and representations on the Mohenjo-Daro seals reveal the cult of the fish-God and the doings of the Mina tribe. The inscriptions also speak of the Northern and Southern Minas or Matsyas.<sup>1</sup> In regard to these two different locations we get corroboration from later Indian literature also. The Mahābhārata refers to the two provinces of the Matsyas i.e. the Matsya and the Pratimatsya.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, the Pratimatsya country must be the one located in the South. The Mahābhārata again states that the Matsyas being afraid of Jarāsandha fled away and settled themselves in the South.<sup>3</sup> The Brahmāṇḍa P. narrates that king Virāṭa guarded the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha) during the period of the Bhārata war.<sup>4</sup> The famous work Bhārata written by Kumāravyāsa in Kannaḍa, states, that the country of the Matsyas lay towards the south of the Godāvarī river. There is also a tradition in Karnāṭaka that Hānugal (or Pānuṅgal) in the Dharwar District formed the capital of Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas.<sup>5</sup>

There are also some traditions in Karnāṭaka connected with the fish. It is stated that at Nerēnika in the Bellary District is a temple dedicated to Mallēśvara near which is a cave where a crude carving of a rock into something like the caricature of a fish is worshipped.<sup>6</sup> The device of the two fishes obtaining on the Mohenjo-Daro seals was adopted by the Pāṇḍyas of Madura as their Lāñcchana, and on account of which they were designated as Mīnavar Koṇ. The Royal House of the Pāṇḍyas was built in a fish-shaped fashion.<sup>7</sup> The

1. Heras, 'Mohenjo-Daro The People and the Land', *Indian Culture*, III, No. 4, p. 707.
2. *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣma P.* Adh. 6, in which a detailed description of the countries and peoples of India is given.
3. *Ibid*, *Sabhā P.*, 14, 28.
4. *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, *Madhya-bhāga*, Adh. 63.
5. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 2.
6. Moses, 'Fish and Religion in South India', *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 551.
7. Sewell, *A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India*, p. 74.

Matsyas of Oddadi and the Kadambas of Kalinga adopted the symbol for their Lāñcchana.<sup>1</sup> It is also worth noting that the images of Āyanār,<sup>2</sup> and later of Muttyālamā at Avani,<sup>3</sup> bear on their heads the horn-like head-gear represented to be worn by Śiva on the Mohenjo-Daro seals. The Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya relates that the Jaṅgamas (of course of Karnāṭaka) used to bear the trident on their heads.

According to Fr. Heras the name of Karnāṭaka in the Mohenjo-Daro period was 'Kaṇṇanir'.<sup>4</sup> He also gives an early account of them. The Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and other literary works make a mention of the Ābhīra tribe. They had spread themselves through the whole of India. The expression Ābhīra seems to have been derived from the Tāmil expression Āyir (ā = meaning 'a cow') as V. Kanakasabhai would put it.<sup>5</sup>

The Nāgas seem to have been a prominent race since the Mohenjo-Daro period. They had colonised in almost all the parts of India. It is related in the Purāṇas, that Māhiṣmatī happened to be the capital town of Nāga Karkoṭaka. Banavāsi and the surrounding region is designated as Nāgara-khaṇḍa since the early centuries of the Christian era. According to J. Dubreuil the 'Cuṭu' indicates the hood of a cobra. He observes that the kings of this country were Nāgas.<sup>6</sup>

The Māhiṣikas, like the Nāgas, were another important tribe. The Mahisa is represented on some of the seals bearing the three-faced figure of Śiva. They at one time seem to have spread themselves in the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The name of the town Māhiṣmatī, on the banks of the Narmadā, the expression Māhiṣikas, Mahiṣis, Māhiṣakas etc. as a people of Dakṣiṇāpatha occurring in the Purāṇas, and the name Mysore, are all enough data to prove the wide prevalence of the tribe in Southern India. It is worth noting that Mysore, which is also known as Māhiṣa-maṇḍala, is referred to as *Erumaināḍu* (mean-

1. J. B. and O. R. S., XVII, p. 175.

2. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Iconography of South India*, p. 113.

3. Krishna Sastri, *Images of South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, Fig. 138, p. 225.

4. *Karnāṭaka Historical Review*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 2-3.

5. V. Kanakasabhai, *Tamil India 1800 years Ago*, p. 57.

6. J. Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 50.

ing 'a buffalo town') in an early Tamil work.<sup>1</sup> The Ajas (or Kurubars in Kannada) are famous since the R̥gvedic period. The Kodagus are the same as Vānaras of the Rāmāyaṇa period. Pampa in his famous Kannada Rāmāyaṇa, says, that, the Vānaras owed their tribal name to their *Vānara-dhvaja*.<sup>2</sup> The part they played in Karnāṭaka is too well-known to a student of Karnāṭaka history. Thus all these tribes seem to have derived their name on account of a specific animal being their Royal-lāñcchana or Heraldic device.

### VIII Karnataka in R̥gvedic period and after

On the advent of the Aryans, the whole of India enters into a new phase of history. By the end of the R̥gvedic period, Paraśurāma had already destroyed the Haihayas.<sup>3</sup> And tradition soon began to spread on the Western coast regarding the mighty prowess of this great hero, and the deeds he did in setting aback the sea. Himself and his mother Reṇukā stand deified in Karnāṭaka even to this day.

But the three bloody wars, namely, those of Paraśurāma against the Haihayas and other Kṣatriyas, the Dāśarājña and the Bhārata, brought the whole of India and its supreme civilization to a chaos, and we seem to find almost a blank in the history of Karnāṭaka and the other parts of India.

The R̥gveda itself refers to the expressions *Bekanāṭa*<sup>4</sup> and *Dakṣinā padā*<sup>5</sup>. The word *nāṭa* is very probably derived from the Dravidian word *nād*, meaning, a province. The expression *Dakṣinā padā* seems to have been the earliest form of the later *Dakṣinā-patha* (the word *patha* itself being derived in our opinion from '*pada*,' meaning, 'foot'). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Andhas, Pulindas, Śabarās, Mūtibas and Puṇḍras as people living in the South.<sup>6</sup> The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka derives the expression 'cora' from Cola people. Pāṇini refers to the following countries in Southern India: *Kaccha* ( IV. 2. 133 ), and *Āsmaka* ( IV. 1. 173 ). Kātyāyana in his *Vārttikas* refers to *Coda*, *Keraḷa* and *Pāṇḍya*.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Ahnānūru*, Āham 294.

2. Rice, *History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 35.

3. K. M. Munshi, *Early Aryans in Gujarat*, pp. 65ff.

4. *R̥gveda*, VII, 16, 10.

5. *Ibid*, X, 61, 8.

6. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 18.

7. On Pāṇini IV. 1. 168; IV. 1. 175.

In the Mahābhārata Sahadeva is said to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Dravidas, Uḍras, Keraḷas and Āndhras. He is also described to have visited many other places ie. Surpāraka, Daṇḍaka, Karahāṭaka (modern Karhād) and Kiṣkindhyā.<sup>1</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa on the other hand refers to different nations, namely, Utkala, Kaliṅga, Daśārṇa, Avanti, Vidarbha, Cola, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Daṇḍakāranya respectively.

Besides, it describes the whole of the province occupied by the Vānaras. Kaikeya, while approaching the Daṇḍakas, is said to have visited the town of Vaijayanta (Banavāsi) where was ruling Timidhvaja. The Āśvamedha of Jaimini describes how the six-fingered Candrahāsa, the prince of Keraḷa, became the king of Karnaṭaka in spite of the efforts of the minister Dhṛṣṭabuddhi. The Āśvamedha horse of the Pāṇḍavas is said to have entered his territory.<sup>2</sup> He was a keen devotee of Kṛṣṇa. In the Vetāla-pañcāśati, it is stated how Śūdraka made his servant Vīravara the king of Lāṭa and Karnaṭa.<sup>3</sup> All the members of this servant's family are said to have laid down their lives for the sake of the king. King Śatānika's name is mentioned in the Gokarna Mahātmya.<sup>4</sup> The Harivamśa describes how Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma went to Karavīrapura near Veṇā river in fear of Jarāsandha's pursuit, and how further on they met Paraśurāma there, and in his company went to Yajñagiri, then to Krauñcapura having crossed the Khatvāṅgī and then to Gomantagiri via Anaḍu. The work also states that Śṛgāla, son of Vasudeva, was ruling over Karavīrapura and that king Mahākapi was ruling over Krauñcapura. The latter is designated as *Vanvāsyādhipa*, 'meaning' mostly the ruler of *Vanavāsī* province.<sup>5</sup> It is also worth noting that Balarāma is described to have drunk the Kādambari wine on the Gomāntaka. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma defeated Jarāsandha, and killed Śṛgāla, king of Karavīrapura, and enthroning his son instead, were back again.

The Purāṇas often mention the names of the various countries and rivers located in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. It included amongst other countries, the Pāṇḍya, the Keraḷa, the Cola, the Mahārāṣṭra, the

1. *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā P.* ch. 31.
2. Ketkar, *Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra*, I, p. 73.
3. Kathāsaritsāgar, 12. 11. 109.
4. *Gokarna-mahātmyasāra*, Bombay, 1932.
5. *Harivamśa*, *Viṣṇu-parva*, 39-40.

Māhīśika, the Kalinga, the Paunika, the Maunika, the Aśmaka and the Kuntala or Karnāṭa. The Mahābhārata also refers to Kuntala or Karnāṭa. The Purāṇas state that the Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Veṇā, Vāñjulā, Tūṅgabhadṛā, Suprayogā, Kāverī, Āpagā and others are the rivers of the Dakṣiṇāpātha. The Matsya Purāṇa narrates that Sandhāna of the Turvasu line had four sons, namely, Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Coḷa and Karṇa; and from their names prospered the Janapadas of Pāṇḍyas, Coḷas and Kēraḷas<sup>1</sup>. The Karṇa must be identified with the Karnāṭa. The Skāṇḍa Purāṇa states that, 'there was a demon named Karnāṭa, and that as he troubled the Brahmins of Moheraka in Dharmāranya he was killed by goddess Mātangi. However, in his next birth he appeared before the goddess. He asked the people there to perform the worship of Yakṣma, went to Southern India, and established a Kingdom after his own name on the sea-shore (Western?)'.<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇas always speak of the prowess of Paraśurāma in acquiring the land on the Western sea-shore, which is well-known as Paraśurāma-bhūmi. The Nāradiya-Mahāpurāṇa says that as the sons of Sagara began to dig the ground on the Western sea-shore, it became over-flooded on account of the waters of the sea, and, that later on Paraśurāma darted his arrow against the sea, on account of which Varuṇa took aback the waters.<sup>3</sup>

It should also be noted in this connection that Megasthenes refers to Taprobane.<sup>4</sup> The famous Brahmin minister Kauṭilya of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta describes that the pearls were found in the Tāmraparṇī river, in Pāṇḍu Kavāṭaka, and near the Mahendra mountain.

After giving this brief survey, we shall now turn our attention to the political history of the land. Because it is from the time of the Mauryas that we find definite traces regarding the activities of the people of Karnāṭaka.

1. *Matsya P* Adh, 48, 4-5.

2. *Skāṇḍa P. Brahmakhaṇḍa, Dharmāranya-khaṇḍa*, Adh. 18 ff. Note also that Karnāṭa was so called because he was born through the ear. 19, 3.

3. *Nāradiya P.* 74, 4

4. *I. A.* VI, 129.

## CHAPTER II

### OUTLINES OF POLITICAL HISTORY

Karnāṭaka-Kuntala—Boundaries—Outlines of Political History—Maurya Period—Śātavāhanas and Cuṭas—Kadambas—Gaṅgas—Cālukyas of Bādāmi—Rāṣṭrakūṭas—Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi—Yādavas—Hoysaḷas—Rāyas of Vijayanagara—Araviḍu dynasty.

#### I Karnataka-Kuntala

We have thus seen that Karnāṭaka as an independent nation had come into existence since very ancient times. At one time it included the whole of Mysore and the portion extending up to the banks of the Narmadā River—if we are to believe in the occupation of the territory by the Māhīśikas. The boundaries of Karnāṭaka have been of a varying nature during the different historical periods. In the North it had once spread itself from Cambay to the Bay of Bengal. In the South it had extended itself to the Cape. But it has always included a tract of land surrounded by the Godāvarī, the Eastern Ghats, the Nilgiris, the Kāverī and the Arabian Sea.

However, on older nations becoming extinct, various independent nationalities came into being. And it is on account of this that the two provinces of Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra arose as two definitely distinct entities during the historical period. However, before entering into the *pros* and *cons* of the problem we shall study the other details regarding the designations themselves.

*Karnāṭaka-Kuntala* :—Karnāṭaka is known by its various designations e.g. Kannāḍa, Kannāḍu, Kannāḍar, Karṇāṭa, Karnāṭaka and best of all Kuntala. Scholars also have tried to derive it in a varied manner: 'from Kar-nāḍu' (black soil), the word Karnāṭaka being a Sanskritized form of Kannāḍa; <sup>1</sup> Karṇāṭa derived from (the Tadbhava of) Kannada; <sup>2</sup> 'from Karu-nāḍu' (an elevated country); <sup>3</sup> 'from Karṇa, Karṇi'; <sup>4</sup> 'from Kammita-nāḍu,' (Kammita according

1. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 30.

2. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, I, p. 393.

3. *Jayakarnāṭaka*, X, p. 58.

4. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 21.

to Narasimhachar means 'sweet-smelling');<sup>1</sup> 'from Kaḷ-nādu';<sup>2</sup> 'from Kaṇ' (black)<sup>3</sup> etc. Before entering into the veracity or otherwise of these statements we shall see how it is referred to in the later literature.

Karnāṭaka is also designated as Kuntala in the various Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the later epigraphic records and literature. One of the Sātakarṇi kings also is designated as Kuntala Śātakarṇi<sup>4</sup>. The word Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. It is referred to in the famous Sanskrit play Mṛcchakaṭika of King Śūdraka, in the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira, in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, 'due perhaps to its mention in the Paisācī Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya'. The famous Tāmil work Śilappadikāram refers to 'Kannāḍar'. The Nepalese Chronicle Svayambhupurāṇa refers to a Karnāṭa King Nanyadeva, who conquered the whole country of Nepal in Śrāvaṇasūdi of Nepāl Saṃvat 9, or Śaka-saṃ. 811 i.e. 889 A.D. Shama Sastri identifies him with the Gaṅga King Nanniyadēva<sup>5</sup>. The Velvikudi copper-plate grant of the Pāṇḍya king Śadaiyan Parāntaka makes a mention of *Karṇa-Nāḍuga*<sup>6</sup>. We have already referred to the expression Kaṇṇanirs obtaining in the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions. As stated above, the Matsya and the Skānda Purāṇas refer to the country of Karṇa and Karnāṭa respectively. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa states in the Chapter on Painting that the hero's body must be painted like the body of a Karnāṭaka hero<sup>7</sup>.

In our opinion, the expression Karnāṭaka or Kannāḍa is derived from the 'Karṇa' or 'Karṇi' occurring in the expression Sātakarṇi. The Sātakarṇi rulers ruled over a very vast area in and out of Dakṣiṇāpatha. And that must have given courage to the people to name the land after their mighty rulers. The Matsya, the earliest of the Purāṇas, does refer to the expression 'Karṇa', which is a direct

1. Narasimhachar, *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite*, I, Intro. XIX.

2. S. B. Joshi, *Kannāḍa-nele*.

3. Kittel, *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*.

4. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, cf. also in *Matsya P.*

5. *Mysore Arch. Report* for 1926, pp. 26-27.

6. Narasimhachar, *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite*, I, Intro. p. XV.

7. *Viṣṇudharmottara P. III Khanda*. 42. 38.

corroboration in regard to the above statement. The Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup> refers to a Kuntala province of the North. And the close association of the Pāṇḍavas in Karnāṭaka, as tradition has it, might have been responsible for the other version.

*Mahārāṣṭra*: On the other hand, the word Mahārāṣṭra is also frequently referred to in the Purāṇas. The Matsya Purāṇa<sup>2</sup>, however, uses the word Navarāṣṭra instead of Mahārāṣṭra. The Garuḍa<sup>3</sup> and the Viṣṇudharmottara<sup>4</sup> give variant versions *e. g.* Nara or Naya-rāṣṭra (which seem to be rather misprints for Nava). Later, Daṇḍin makes a reference to the Mahārāṣṭrī language. In the famous Aihole inscription Pulikeśi is described as having become the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas consisting of 99,000 villages<sup>5</sup>. The word is of free and common occurrence in later literature also.

*Their Boundaries*: The question of the respective boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra is so much interconnected that it is impossible to trace the boundaries of one country without at the same time tracing those of the other. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that, "the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvarī, and that lying between that river and the Kṛṣṇā. The name Mahārāṣṭra also seems to have been at one time restricted to this tract<sup>6</sup>". C. V. Vaidya also expresses a similar view point<sup>7</sup>. Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane expresses the view that the three Mahārāṣṭrakas mentioned in the Aihole inscription included the country of Kuntala also<sup>8</sup>. But the historical data that has become available to us at present does not allow us to draw any such conclusion.

The first reference to the boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka occurs in the Kavirājamārga, the authorship of which work is ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatuṅga Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 815-877). The poet gives a poetic description of its boundaries. He says:

1. *Mbh. Sabhāparva*, Ch. 31 (Bombay Edn.)

2. *Matsya P.* 114, 47.

3. *Garuḍa P.* 53, 15.

4. *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* 10, 5.

5. *I. A.* VIII, p. 243.

6. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op-cit.*, p. 6.

7. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India I*, pp. 266-275.

8. Kane, P. V. 'Ancient Geography and Civilization of Mahārāṣṭra', *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XXIV, pp. 613 ff.



“Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies,  
From famed Godāvarī,

To where the pilgrim rests his eyes  
On Holy Kāverī.

The people of that land are skilled,

To speak in rhythmic tone ( the sweet Kannaḍa ).”<sup>1</sup>

Thus at least in the time of Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga the banks of the river Godāvarī seem to have formed the northern-most boundary of the Kannada country. On the other hand, the statement surprisingly enough concurs with the one made in the *Līlācaritra*, a work of the Mahānubhāvas ( 1190 A.D. ) written in Marāṭhī. The passage in the *Līlācaritra* defines the boundaries of the three Khaṇḍa-maṇḍalas or subdivisions of Mahārāṣṭra thus :

- I. The First Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying from Phalithāṇa downwards to wherever the Marāṭhī language was spoken; to the north of this was situated Bālēghāt.
- II. The Second Maṇḍala consisted of the country lying on both the sides of the river Godāvarī to the extent of twelve *Yojanas*. To the west was situated Tryambakeśvara ( near Nāsik ).
- III. The Third Maṇḍala comprised the country lying between Meghakara Ghāt and Varhād ( Berar ).

The work also states that the population of the country was sixty lacs<sup>2</sup>.

From the above, one may easily infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had not made any substantial encroachment upon the country of the Kannada people at least up to the end of the twelfth century A.D. If we draw any conclusion from the fact that the Mo-ha-la-ch ‘a ( or Mahārāṣṭra ) of Yuan Chwang, or the country comprising the three Mahārāṣṭrakas (*trayāṇām mahārāṣṭrakāṇām*) which are said to have been ruled over by the Cālukya king Pulikēśi II, does not differ much from the one detailed in the *Līlācaritra*, then we may

1. Rice, *Kannarese Literature*, pp. 25-6.

2. Y. K. Deshpande, *Mahānubhāviya Marāṭhī Vāṅmāyā*, p. 90.

possibly infer that the Mahārāṣṭrians had more or less occupied this portion of the province after the seventh century A. D.

In regard to the early boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra, occupied by the Rāṣṭrīyas, we have already shown elsewhere that they can be located within the following circumscribed area, originally <sup>1</sup>:

I. According to the statement of Rājāśekhara the whole of the Dakṣiṇapatha was situated to the south of the Māhiṣmatī (Mandhātā). Māhiṣmatī, however, was situated at a place where the two ranges of the Vindhyas and the Sātpurā approach the river Narmadā.

II. To the west of the country was situated the country of the Bhānukacchas as evidenced in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Bhānukaccha was situated between the Narmadā and Nāsik. The *Matsya P.* uses the word Bhārukaccha instead of Bhānu-kaccha<sup>2</sup>.

III. To the east was most probably situated the country of the Bhojas (or Berar).

IV. To the south were situated the Godāvarī and the adjoining provinces.

Thus we see that these Rāṣṭikas (Rāṣṭrīyas) can be originally located within this circumscribed area. During the time of Pulikeśi II, it had increased to the extent of 99,000 villages. Later on the kingdom of the Rāṣṭika becomes *Raṭṭapāḍi Saptārdhalakṣa* (seven and a half lacs). Evidently, the three expressions 99,000 Mahārāṣṭrakas, *Saptārdha-lakṣa Raṭṭapāḍi* and the 'sixty lacs' Mahārāṣṭra-Deśa (Līlācaritra), used at three different periods in the history of Southern India, really indicate the progressive expansion of the Mahārāṣṭra country that was taking place since the time of Pulikeśi II.

Thus, once the problem of the boundaries of Mahārāṣṭra is settled, the statement of the author of the Kavirājamārga becomes clearer, namely, that the boundaries of Karnāṭaka stretched from the banks of the river Godāvarī down to those of the holy Kāverī. Earlier than this, as we have observed, the Skānda Purāṇa states, that a Daitya named Karṇāṭa founded the kingdom after his own name

1. Cf. for a fuller discussion; A. P. Karmarkar, 'Boundaries of Ancient Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra,' *I. H. Q.* XIV, pp. 781 ff.

2. *Matsya P.* 114. 50.

on the shores of the ocean (Western). Thus this province of the Kaṇṇanirs, which was originally situated somewhere round about Banavāsi, grew itself into a larger unit—the kings of which later on ruled over both the provinces of Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka.

We shall now try to trace the later history of the Kaṇṇanirs.

## II Outlines of Political History

We have already observed that the real history of Karnāṭaka begins with the advent of the Indus Valley civilization. Later on the Harivaṃśa, while narrating the account of the marriage of Haryaśva of the Solar line with Madhumatī, the daughter of Madhurākṣasa, states that their son Yadu married the daughter of the Nāga king Dhūmravarṇa, and that one of their sons founded the kingdom of Vanavāsa or the later Banavāsi<sup>1</sup>. During the later period, Karnāṭaka is closely associated with the doings of Bhārgava Rāma, Dāśarathi, Kṛṣṇa, Jarāsandha, Sahadeva, Arjuna, Candrahāsa and others. Śūdraka, the king of Kalinga and Vikramāditya also seem to have had political connections with this kingdom. However, it is really from the time of Aśoka that the landmarks of its history begin to become more perceptible.

Like Paraśurāma in the Western coast of India, Agastī is credited for having first crossed the Vindhya Mountain. Tradition attributes many exploits to this venerable sage. He is said to have killed two such demons, namely, Ilvala localised at Aivalli, or Aihole in the Bijapur District, and Vātāpi at Bādāmi. They always troubled the sages at Daṇḍakāraṇya.<sup>2</sup>

An inscription of the twelfth century and the Mala-Basava-carite of Siṅgirāja describes that the Nandas ruled over Kuntala which included the Western Deccan and the North of Mysore<sup>3</sup>. If this be true then the Mauryas also must have followed in their footsteps, and thus ruled over the Deccan. The next historical tradition is in regard to the migration of the Maurya Emperor Candragupta and his teacher Bhadrabāhu into the South. It is said that Candragupta became a Jain ascetic and followed Bhadrabāhu, who, anticipating a prolonged famine of twelve years

1. *Harivaṃśa, Śṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, 17.

2. *Q. J. M. S.*, XVII, p. 172.

3. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 3.

in the North, led a large community of Jains towards the South and travelled as far as the rocky hills of Śravaṇa Belgola in the Mysore state. Both of them are said to have laid down their lives (Candraguṭṭa dying twelve years later) by taking a Sallekhana vow at Śravaṇa Belgola, on the Kaṭavapra or Kalbappu Hill, or Candragiri. This fact is corroborated by various statements in the early inscriptions, the Brhatkathākosa of Hariṣeṇa (931 A.D.), Bhadrabāhucarita of Ratnanandi (1450 A.D.), and Rājāvalikathe of Devacandra (1800 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>. Hoernle observes that with this Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalin the Digambaras separated from the Śvetāmbaras<sup>2</sup>. Bhadrabāhu died in the year 297 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The Royal Edicts of Aśoka throw further light on the early history of Kārṇāṭaka. They are discovered at Maski, Siddāpūr, Jatinga Rāmēśvara, Brahmagiri and other places.<sup>4</sup> The Mahāvamśa (XII), and the Dīpavamśa (XIII)<sup>5</sup> relate that Moggaliputta Tissa sent the following Buddhist missionaries to various places: Madhyantika to Kāshmir and Gandhāra, Mahārakṣita to Yavana, Maḥādeva to Maḥiṣamaṇḍala, Rakkhita to Vanavāsa (Banavāsi), Dhammarakkhita to Mahārāṣṭra, Mazzima to the Himālayan regions and the fraternal pair Soma and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi, respectively. The Edicts refer to the peoples in the south, namely, Pitenikas, Bhojas, Aparāntas, Pāndyas, Satiyaputtas and Keralaputtas, and to places like Vanavāsaka, Isila and Suvarṇagiri. The Satiyaputtas<sup>6</sup> referred to in the Edicts seem to be the same as the *Sātas* or *Sātavāhanas* (cf. *infra*). Hultzsch<sup>7</sup> identifies Suvarṇagiri with Kanakagiri situated to the south of Maski, wherein one of the Aśokan edicts is discovered. He identifies Isila with Ṛṣyamūka-Parvata. But as we are finding many more finds in Kārṇāṭaka, we dare to identify it with Aihole, which has been identified with *Ilvala* (name of a demon). At least the later history of the town encourages us to do the same.

1. *Ibid.* pp. 4 ff.

2. *I. A.* XXI. 59, 60.

3. Jacobi, *Kaṭpasūtra*, Intro. p. 13.

4. Cf. also *Minor Rock Inscriptions* V, VI, VII, and VIII.

5. Turner, *Mahāvamśa*, pp. 71, 72; Oldenberg, *Dīpavamśa*, p. 54.

6. II Rock Edict at Girnar, and II Rock Edict at Kālsī cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 18, 29 seq.

7. Hultzsch, *History of Inscriptions of South India*, p. 7.

The Sātavāhanas seem to have been the feudatories of Aśoka. The Sātavāhanas seem to have been the same as the Sātvasas, an early tribe of the midland of India. The Sātavāhanas or Sātakarnis are always designated as Sāta, or Śrī Sāta. The words Kārṇi or Vāhana are absolutely different in terminology and meaning. They are wrongly designated as Andhras later on by the Purāṇas. If we are to depend on the version of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa then these Andhras were the same people known as Andhas (cf. *infra*) or the Andhakas. The Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis belonged to the same race. The expression Sātvasa also has the word Sāt included in it. Moreover the Harivaṃśa states that Paraśurāma told Kṛṣṇa that Karavīrapura was originally founded by the descendants of Yadu. It is also pointed out that the Banavāsi was founded by the son of Yadu. The close association of the Nāga cult is common to both the races of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and that of the Cuṭus. All these evidences point us to the conclusion that the Sātavāhanas belonged to the same race of the original Sātvasas. That must have been originally a mighty Dravidian race. It is worth noting in this connection that the Hoysalas and the Yādavas of Deogiri also claim to be the descendants of Yadu.

The Sātavāhanas occupied a very vast territory in India. In fact they were generally designated as the Lords of the Dakṣiṇā-patha, and their territory included the whole of Karnāṭaka, Āśmaka (the original Mahārāṣṭra), Aparānta, Anūpa, Saurāṣṭra, Mālwa, (Ākarāvanti); and once they extended their sway up to Bhilsa and Chanda also. Very important discoveries of the Sātavāhana centres are made at Koṇḍivale (in Hyderabad Deccan), at Chandravalli in Mysore State, and at Brahmapuri in the Kolhāpur State. Very wonderful discoveries are made in all these centres; and they have supplied us with marvellous clues in regard to their commercial relations with Rome and Greece. A Greek Farce (No. 413) in the Papyri found in 1897, at Oxyrhyncus in Lower Egypt, by the Biblical Archaeological Association, is based upon the story of a Greek girl carried off to the coast of a country bordering on the Indian ocean. Scholars opine that the scene must have been taken from Malpe. It is really wonderful that this farce (c. 200 A.D.) contains Kannada words.<sup>1</sup> Roman coins belonging to the time of Augustus were found

1. Q. J. M. S., XVIII, p. 294ff.

on the sites of Chandravalli in the Mysore State. Recently, the eminent scholar Prof. Kundangar discovered a site, which contains many finds of the Greek type—vases, caskets, a Greek statue, toy-carts, etc. These bear some similarities with the finds discovered at Taxila, and at Arikamedu near Pondicherry. Added to this King Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Khāravēla are said to have defeated the Yavanas. As Ptolemy puts it, King Sandanes of *Kallien or Kalyān* is said to be 'greatly hostile with the foreigners'.

Immediately after the rule of the Śātavāhanas, the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis usurped the throne. They are also designated as Mahārāṭhis and Mahārāṭhinis (female). Many scholars are of opinion that the 'Mahārāṭhi' is identical with the Mahārāṣṭrī. If it were Mahārāṣṭrī then the Prākṛt of it would have been a Mahārāṭṭhi (instead of a single *ṭhi*). Hemacandra also opines that the Prākṛts are varied (*Bahulam*), thus, meaning that it varied in different countries. Following Hemacandra, we opine that the expression Mahārāṭhi is derived from Mahārathi—which exactly fits in with their position of being the subordinates of the Śātavāhanas.

It is also worth noting that the recently discovered pillar at Vaḍagaon-Mādhavpur (near Belgaum) contains an inscription in Brāhmī script.

### III Origin of the various Dynasties

Scholars like C. V. Vaidya and others made an attempt to show, that, with the exception of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, almost all the dynasties of Karnāṭaka were Mahārāṣṭrian in origin. But all the data that has become available to us in the field of research since then, does not allow us to accept any such conclusion.

The Śātavāhanas, the Kadambas and the Cālukyas are said to be Hārītiputras, and of Mānavyagotra. As we have suggested above the Śātavāhanas were none else than the Satiyaputtas or Sātvas. There is not a single record to prove that any of these dynasties originated in the Mahārāṣṭra of those times. The Cālukyas and their Karnāṭaka armies are too well-known to a student of history. Mānyakhēṭa or Malkhēḍ is described as a capital where chaste Kannaḍa was spoken. Best of all, almost all these dynasties seem to be of Dravidian and consequently of Kannaḍa origin. The dynasties of the Cālukyas (Calukya according to Kittel is derived from a Dravidian root), the

Rāṣṭrakūṭas (the term Rāṣṭika or Rāṣṭriya of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa being equivalent to the Nāḍavar), the Kadambas (Kadam-ba tree), the Hoysaḷas (compare the representation of a man and the two lions on a Mohejo-Daro seal) and others except the Rā-ṣṭrakūṭas) seem to have derived their tribal names from their respective Lāṅcchana or heraldic device. The Vijayanagara dynasty was evidently of Kannaḍa origin.

It should also be noted in this connection that almost all the dynasties, with the exception of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Rāyas, claim a Northern origin. But all the records that give this version belong to a later date i.e. eleventh century onwards. And moreover, they seem to have cultivated a peculiar sense; that they must show that they belonged to the Northern India, which attained a particular sanctity on account of its being called as Āryabhūmi.

We now propose to give a brief survey of the doings of the main dynasties of Karnāṭaka.

#### IV (a) The Satakarnis

(From Pre-Aśokan times to 3rd Cen. A.D.)

The Sātākarnis are a very ancient race. They are mentioned in the records as Sātavāhana, Sātākarni. Satakarni, Sāta, Sada, and Sata. Though regarded as being derived from *Satakarna*, the dynasty seems to belong to the Sātavata tribe. They seem to be the same as the Satiyaputtas mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions or the Satae mentioned by Pliny,<sup>1</sup> as even separate from the Āndhras (probably the descendants of the Andhakas) or the Śātakas of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.<sup>2</sup> There were different branches of these at Nānāghāt, Nāsik, Chanda and Kolbāpur. They call themselves as Hāritiputras and of Mānavya-gotra.

*Branch at Nānāghāt* :—The Sātākarni of Nānāghāt was the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. He was the son of Śimuka. Mahārāṭhi-Traṇa Kāyiro- (Kala-) lāya was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Veditīri and the younger Śaktiśīri (Sati-Śrīmat or Hakuśīri.)

*Branch at Nāsik*—Kṛṣṇa or Kaṇba, brother of Śimuka ruled at Nāsik—from the west of Kalinga to Nāsik.

*Yājñasrī Sātākarni*—The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa indicates that he was not on good terms with Agnimitra, son of Pusyamitra. Agnimitra was in love with Mālavikā, the princess of Berar. King Khāravela is described as 'desregarding Satakarnis.'<sup>3</sup>

1. E. I. X, App. No 1021.

2. Mārkaṇḍeya P. LLVIII.

3. I. A. XLIX, p. 43.

*Hāla*:—He was the probable author of the *Saptasāti*, an anthology of erotic verses.

*Sundara Sātakarṇi*:—Ptolemy calls him as 'Sandanes', and 'as being hostile to foreigners.'

*Gautamīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi*:—He destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, rooted out the Śaka race and restored the Sātavāhana family<sup>1</sup> (C. 119 A.D.). He was a king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Ākarāvanti (Māḷwa). 'He felt proud for having re-established the system of caste, as against the casteless foreigners Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas'. He was a champion of Buddhism and Hinduism. About 9270 out of 13250 coins of Nahapāna discovered at Jogaltembhi are found restruck by Gautamīputra. Queen Balāsri, mother of Gautamīputra and grand-mother of Puṣumāyi made a solemn gift of the cave at Nāśik in her own name.

*Puṣumāyi II*:—Ptolemy says that Polemaios reigned at Baithana and Tiasenes at Ozēnnē<sup>2</sup>. The other capital was Amarāvati, and not Śrīkākulam, as is supposed. He was called as the Lord of Dhanākaṭa, Dhānyakaṭa, Dhanakakāṭa, Dhaññakāṭa.

*Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra*:—His was a brilliant reign. He embellished the cave at Nāśik in the seventh year of his reign and dug the Caitya at Kanheri in his sixteenth. His coins designate him as Yajña. He was defeated by Rudradāman twice. His rare silver coins imitate the Satrap coinage.

*Sātakarṇis of Kolhāpur*:—Numerous coins were found in the region with the symbol of bow and arrow. They contain the names of the following kings: Vaśiṣṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Mādhariputra Śivalakura, Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura. Ptolemy refers to the King Baleokuros who ruled at Hippokura.

Śrī Rudra Sātakarṇi and Kṛṣṇa Sātakarṇi ruled in the Chanda District, in the Central Provinces. There seems also to have been a branch of the Sātavāhanas at Sānci.

1. E. I. VIII, p. 6.

2. I. A. XLVII, p. 149; E. I. VIII, p. 60.

3. I. A., XIII, p. 366.



#### IV (b) The Cutus or Cutu-Satakarnis

The Cutus or Cutu Satakarnis are designated as Āndhrabhr̥tyas in the Purāṇas. Dubreuil interprets the word Cuṭu as meaning hood of a Nāga. They ruled over a very vast territory i.e. from Aparānta down to the Chittaldurg District, after the fall of the main line. The inscriptions of Kanheri (No. 1021 of Lüders' List), Banavāsi (No. 1186 of Lüders' List), Malavalli (E.C. VII sk. 263), and Myakadoni<sup>1</sup>, along with the coins obtained in different sites, prove that Nāga-Mula-Nikā was the mother of Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-Sāta. Her husband was a Mahārathi. Sadakaṇa-Kaḷalāya-Mahārathi was probably the ancestor of Mahārathi Satakaṇa or Sāta, who made the grant of a Nāga at Banavāsi. The inscription of Malavalli belongs to the second year of Hārītiputra-Viṇhukaḍa-duṭu (Cuṭu)-Kulānanda Sātakarṇi, father of Nāganikā. The famous Tālguṇḍa inscription of the Kadambas mentions the Prāṇēśvara temple in that town 'at which Sātakarṇi and other kings had formerly worshipped.'<sup>2</sup>

They seem to have been conquered by the Pallavas, from whom the Kadamba King Mayūraśarmā wrested the power.

#### IV (c) The Early Kadambas

( Fourth Cen. A.D. to seventh Cen. A.D.)

Origin: from Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba. They were of Mānavya Gotra and are said to have been Hārītiputras. They are said to have hailed from the north<sup>3</sup>.

345—370 A.D. *Mayūra-śarmā* (or *varmā*)—He was the founder of the dynasty. His preceptor's name is *Viraśarman*<sup>4</sup>. He asserted himself against the Pallavas and established his kingdom in the forests of Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila, Karnul Dist.). He levied tributes from Bāṇa and other kings. He was later appointed as Dandanāyaka by the Pallavas<sup>5</sup>. Further the Pallavas installed him as king over a territory extending from

1. E. I. XIV, p. 153.

2. E. I., VIII, p. 24.

3. Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 16.

4. E. C. VII, p. 9.

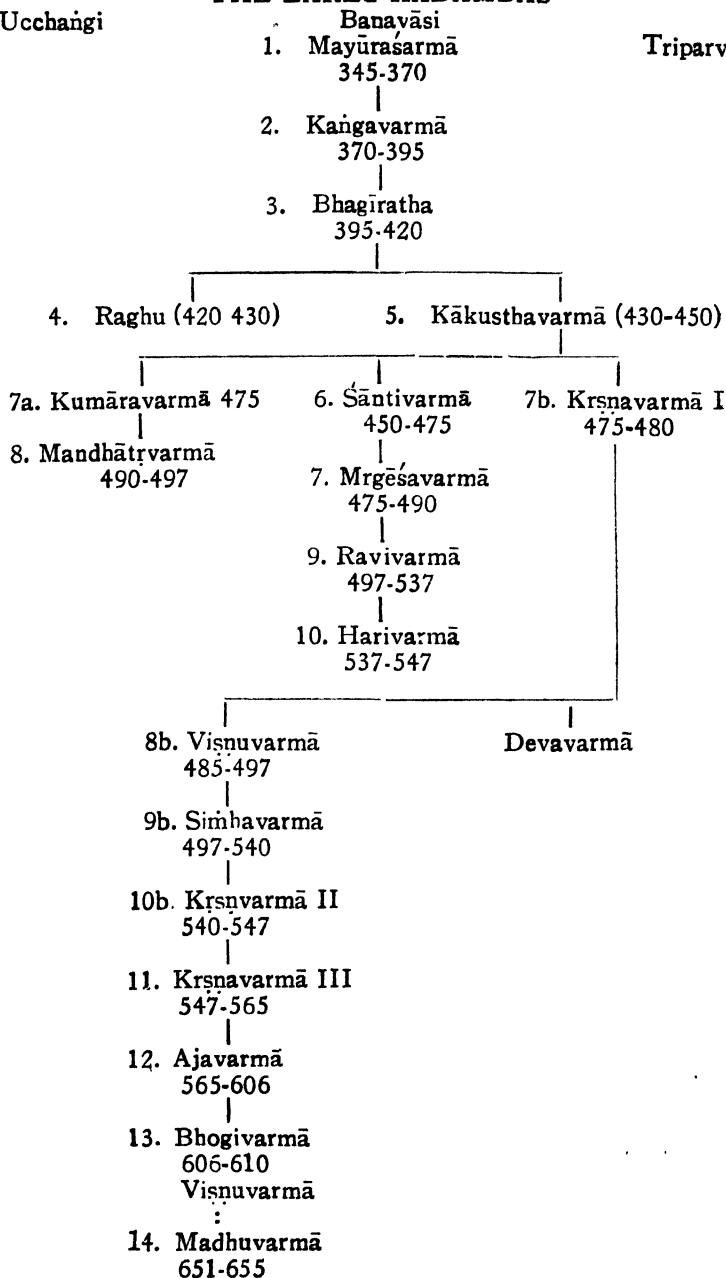
5. E. I. VIII, p. 29 (Kielhorn's view).

# THE EARLY KADAMBAS

Ucchangi

Banavāsi

Tripurvata



the Amara ocean (Western) to the Premāra country.<sup>1</sup> He performed eighteen sacrifices<sup>2</sup>.

370-395 A.D. *Kaṅgavarmā*—He was defeated by the Vākāṭaka king Prthivīsenā.

395-420 A.D. *Bhagīratha*—He suffered a crushing blow at the hands of the Vākāṭaka king Prthivīsenā I<sup>3</sup>. The embassy, through the famous poet Kālidāsa, was sent by Candragupta, most probably during this reign<sup>4</sup>.

420-430 A.D. *Raghu*—*Kākusthavarmā* (430-450 A.D.) son of Bhagīratha. He married one of his daughters to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena<sup>5</sup>, and the remaining two to Candragupta and Skandagupta<sup>6</sup> respectively.

450-475 A.D. *Śāntivarmā*—He ruled over Karnāṭaka consisting of eighteen chieftains.<sup>7</sup>

475 A.D. *Kumāravarmā*.

475-490 A.D. *Mṛgeśavarmā*—(also called Śrī-Vijayaśiva, Mṛgeśa) A division of the empire took place during his reign; and Kṛṣṇavarmā founded the kingdom making Tripurvata as his capital.<sup>8</sup> Mṛgeśavarmā married Prabhāvatī of the Kaikeya family<sup>9</sup>. Murāravarmā, brother of Śāntivarmā, also established himself at Uchchāśṛṅgī. He defeated the Gaṅga king (Harivarmā) on which account he changed the capital from Kuḷavala (Korur) to Talkāḍ on the banks of the river Kāverī.

1. E. C. VII, Sk. 176; E. I, VIII. pp. 33-36.

2. *Ibid* VII, Sk. 178.

3. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

4. *Ibid*, p. 19.

5. E. I. IX, p. 27; VI, pp. 30-31.

6. E. C. VII. Sk. 176.

7. *Ibid*. VI, Kd. 162.

8. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A. VII, p. 34.

9. E. C. III, Nj. 122; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 33.

475-480 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā I*—He separated himself from Mrgeṣavarmā and established himself at Triparvata. He was defeated by the Pallava king Naṇakkasa <sup>1</sup>, and remained under the political tutelage of the Pallavas till his death.

490-497 A.D. *Mandhātṛvarmā*.

497-540 A.D. *Simhavarmā*.

485-497 A.D. *Viṣṇuvarmā*—He was proficient in grammar and logic. He was installed as king by a Pallava king named Śāntivarmā.

497-537 A.D. *Ravivarmā*—He was the most famous of all the Kadamba monarchs. He defeated Caṇḍaṇḍa of Kāñcī and established his capital at Palāśikā <sup>2</sup>. After his death one of his queens observed sati.

537-547 A.D. *Harivarmā*—He was the last king of the elder branch

540-547 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā II*—He usurped the throne of Harivarmā, probably killing him, and began to rule over the whole empire. The Cālukya king Pulikeśi declared himself independent making Vātāpi as his capital.

547-565 A.D. *Kṛṣṇavarmā III*—He was enthroned at Vaijayanti. He offered his sister to the Gaṅga king Taḍaṅgala Mādhava in marriage <sup>3</sup>.

565-606 A.D. *Ajavarmā*—He was defeated by the Cālukya king Kīrtivarmā, after which he most probably ruled as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara <sup>4</sup>.

606-610 A.D. *Bhogivarmā*—*Viṣṇuvarmā*.

651-655 A.D. *Madhuvarma*—He was the 'last scion' of the family. During the period of Bhogivarmā, Yuan Chwang visited the Kon-ki-ni-pula <sup>5</sup>. Madhuvarma was, however, destroyed by Vikramāditya I.

1. E. C. XI, Dg. 161.

2. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A. VI. p. 30.

3. E. C. I, p. 15; M. A. R. 1924, p. 68; *Ibid*, 1925, p. 88. The question of the date of this incident remains still unsettled. cf. under Gaṅgas.

4. Moraes, *op. cit.* pp. 55 ff.

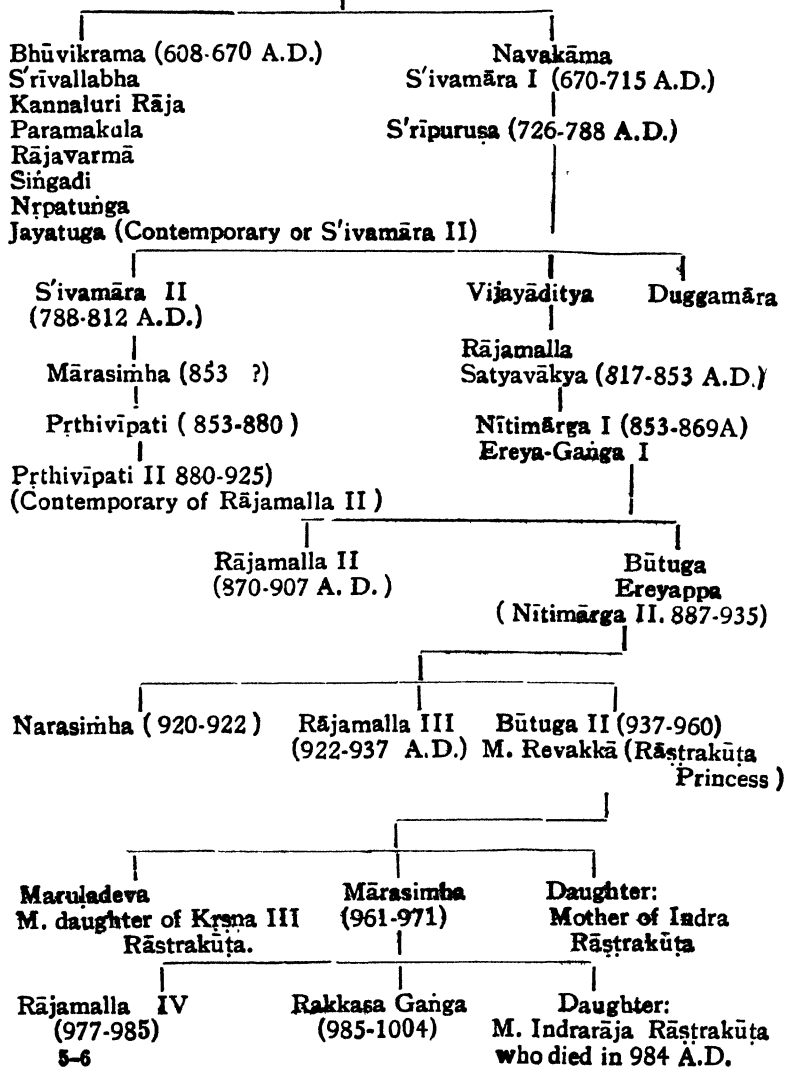
Fleet, *Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A. XI. p. 68.

Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 3, p. 5.

5. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 62.

## The Gangas of Talkad

Koṅgaṇi Varmā I  
Mādhava II  
Harivarmā  
Viṣṇugopa  
Tadaṅgala Mādhava  
Avinīta  
Durvinīta  
Śrī-vikrama



## IV (d) The Gangas of Talkad

( Fourth Cen. A.D. to Tenth Cen. A.D. )

The Gangas belonged to the Kāṇvāyaṇa Gotra and claimed to be the descendants of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and of Solar descent. The foundation of the empire was laid in about the fourth century A.D., mainly at the initiation of the Jain Ācārya Simhanandī<sup>1</sup>.

(Note: It should be noted in this connection that we are dealing below with important personages only).

*Diḍiga* (date not known) and *Mādhava*—They came from the north (?) to Perur and laid the foundation of the empire *i.e.* Gaṅgavāḍī 96,000. The capital of the kingdom then was Kuḷavala. Diḍiga seems to have ruled first. He defeated the Bāṇa kings, led an expedition to the Konkan coast, and added Maṇḍali near Śimoga to his territory<sup>2</sup>. Mādhava was proficient in Nītiśāstra, Upanisads and other studies. The authorship of the Dattaka-sūtra is ascribed to him. The Pallavas took his aid when fighting against the Kādambas.

*Harivarmā*—The capital was shifted from Kuḷavala to Talkāḍ during his reign. He is said to have been installed on the throne by the Pallava king Simhavarmā II.

*Viṣṇugoṇa*—He set aside the Jain faith and ushered that of Viṣṇu. *Taḍaṅgala Mādhava*—He was a worshipper of Tryambaka. He married the sister of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmā. He endowed many grants to the Jain temples and Buddhist Viḥāras.

*Avinīta*—He was brought up as a Jain. His preceptor's name is Vijayakīrti<sup>3</sup>. He was enthroned while still young. He is said to have married the daughter of Skandavarmā.

*Durvinīta*—He was 'one of the most remarkable monarchs'. His preceptor's name is Pūjayapāda<sup>4</sup>, the famous Jain gram-

1. E.C. VIII, No. 35 ; II S.B. 54 ; I.A. XII, p. 20; S.I I. II, pp. 3, 87; cf. also the Gommaṭasāra, which says that the family prospered due to the blessings of the Jain Simhanandī (Second Oriental Conference, Pro. p. 301 ).

2. *Ibid.*

3. E.C. X, Mr. 727.

4. *Ibid.* XII, Tm. 23.

marian. He wrote a commentary on the fifteen Sargas of the Kirātārjuniya by Bhāravi. In his later years he worshipped Viṣṇu. He married the daughter of the Rāja Skandavarman of Punnād <sup>1</sup>.

*Musakera* (S'ri-Vikrama)—He married the daughter of Sindhurāja <sup>2</sup>. It was since his reign that Jainism attained the status of a state religion.

608-670 A.D. *Bhūvikrama* (S'ri-Vallabha)—He defeated the Pallava king Narasimhapota-varmā at Vilinda <sup>3</sup>, and is said to have occupied the Pallava dominions. His son had two Pallava princes in his charge <sup>4</sup>.

670-715 A. D. *Śivamāra* I.

726-788 A.D. *Śrīpuruṣa*—The prosperity of the Gaṅgas reached its zenith during his reign. The kingdom came to be designated as S'ri Rājya. Henceforth the Gaṅgas assumed the title of the Pallavas e.g. *Permmānandi*. His queen was ruling at Aḡaḷi in his forty-second year <sup>5</sup>.

788-812 A.D. *Śivamāra* II—He is said to have been detained, released and enthroned again by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He was an authority on the Science of Elephants and in regard to matters theatrical. The authorship of the Gajāśāstra is attributed to him.

817-853 A.D. *Rājamalla*, Satyavākya—He rescued the country from the clutches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas <sup>6</sup>. But he was later molested by Baṅkeśa, sent by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa.

853-869 A. D. *Ereyaṅga Nittimargga*—The Doddabundi stone inscription has an interesting *bas-relief* showing his death-scene <sup>7</sup>. The later Gaṅgas since Būtuga came under the influence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (i.e. Būtuga onwards). During the reign of Rācamalla Satyavākya, the influence of Jainism was revived.

983 A.D. The colossal statue of Gommaṭarāya was built in 983 A.D. by the famous General Cāmunḍarāya.

1004 A. D. Rājendra Cōḷa captured Talkād in 1004 A. D. Thus this dynasty was brought to an end.

1. *Ibid.* IX, Db. 68.

2. *I. A.* XIV, p. 229.

3. *Ibid.* III, Md. 113.

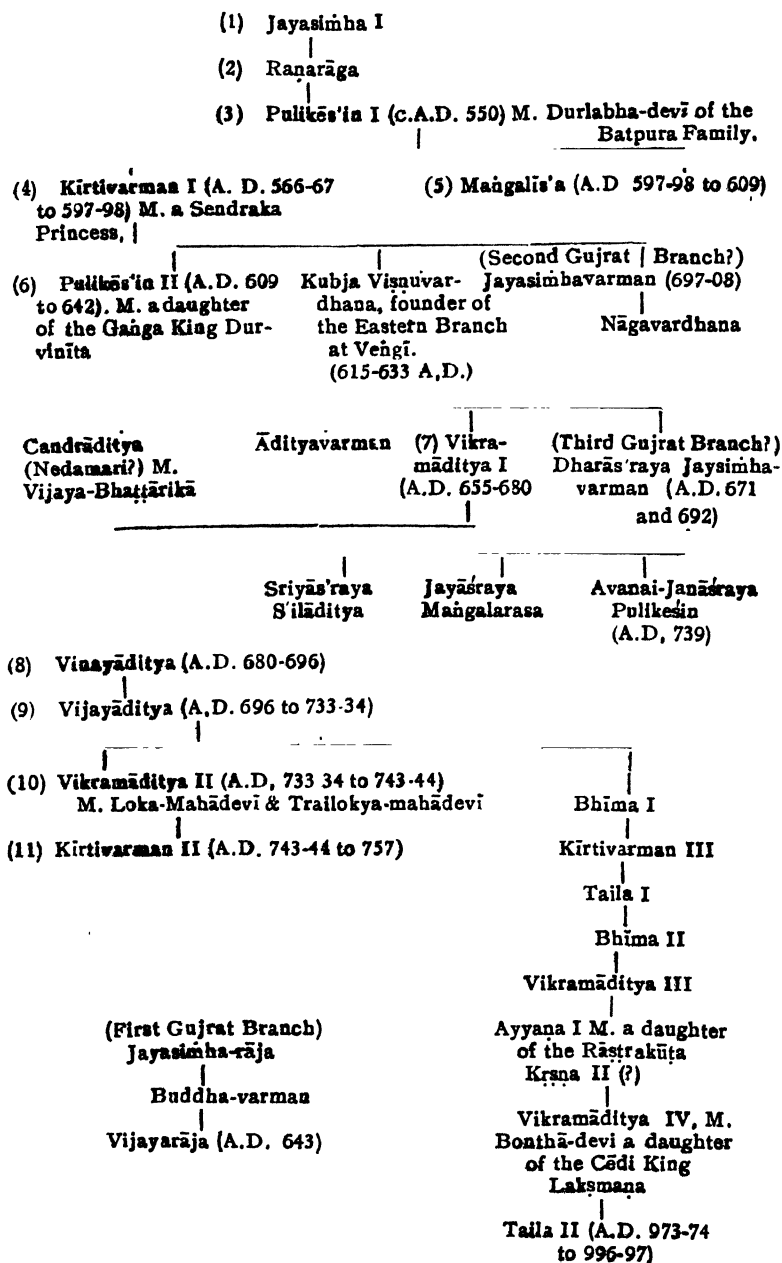
4. *E.C.* IV, Yd 60; XII, Nj. 129.

5. *E.C.* III, Tn. 91. cf. for an illustration, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 43.

3. *E. C.* III, Md. 1135; XII, Tm, 23

5. *Ibid.* X, Mb. 80.

## The Western Calukyas of Vatapi(Badami)





#### IV (c) The Calukya Dynasty

The whole of their overlordship can be divided into four branches, namely, (1) Cālukyas of Bādāmi, (2) Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, (3) Cālukyas of Gujrat, and (4) Cālukyas of Veṅgī. The period of the Cālukyas of Gujrat and Veṅgi is almost co-terminus with that of the first two branches. We are dealing with the political history of the first two main branches alone—though while tracing the cultural history we have made use of all of them.

The Cālukyas were of Mānavya Gotra and styled as Hārīti-putras. Their name is used in various ways i.e. Calukya, Cālukya, Calkya and Calikya etc.<sup>1</sup> We have, however, accepted the broadly accepted terminology 'Cālukya.' Only the most important reigns are dealt with here.

#### The Calukyas of Badami (Vatapipura)

C. 550 to 757 A. D.

*Jayasimha; Raṇarāga.*

c. 559 *Pulikeśi I*: Satyāśraya Śrī-Pulīkes'ivallabha. He was 'the first great prince' of the family. He made Vāṭāpīpura (Bādāmi) his capital. He performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

566-597 A. D. *Kirtivarman*, his son, subjugated the Nāḷas. The Mauryas were brought under subordination<sup>2</sup>; and the Kadambas of Banavāsi were reduced by him.

597-609 A.D. *Maṅgalīśa*. His brother *Maṅgalīśa* vanquished the Kaḷacuris (of Cēdi) and Buddha—a Kaḷacūri prince<sup>3</sup>. He conquered the Revatīdvīpa (Reḍi). He built the temple at Bādāmi<sup>4</sup>, and placed the idol of Viṣṇu in it<sup>5</sup>.

566-597 A. D. *Kirtivarman I*: *Maṅgalīśa* (597 A. D. 609 A.D.) cf. above for information.

609-642 A.D. *Pulikeśin II*; Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthivī-vallabha, son of Kirtivarman. In his early years he defeated Appāyika Govinda<sup>6</sup>; attacked Banavāsi and reduced it; defeated the

1. Question discussed by Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, p. 336.

2. *I. A.* VIII, p. 241.

3. *Ibid.* VII, p. 161.

4. *Ibid.* III, p. 305.

5. For discussion cf. *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, III, pp. 68-69.

6. *I. A.* VIII, p. 243.

Gaṅgas <sup>1</sup>, and the head of the Ājūpa race; and sent his forces against the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ. He, with a fleet of hundred ships, went to Purī; invaded the countries of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara and brought them under subjugation <sup>2</sup>.

He opposed the armies of Harṣavardhana (probably on the banks of the Narmadā) and assumed the title of Parameśvara. Thus he became the lord of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas comprising 99,000 villages. Then he marched against Kāñcī; and invaded the country of the Cōḷas, the Pāṇdyas and the Keraḷas. During his reign Yuan Chwang seems to have visited the country—thus referring to the country of Mo-ha-la-ch'a. Further Pulikeśi II received an embassy from Chosros II, King of Arabia (591-628 A.D.). During his reign Viṣṇuvardhana founded a branch at Veṅgī; and his brother Jayasimha acted as Viceroy at Nāsik <sup>3</sup>. His eldest son Candrāditya ruled over Sāvāntvādī.

642-655 A. D. The country was invaded and occupied for about thirteen years by the Pallavas.

655-680 A. D. *Vikramāditya I*—The Cōḷas, the Pāṇdyas, the Keraḷas and the Pallavas became his feudatories. He defeated them again and brought them under subjugation. His famous horse Citrakaṇṭha is often described in the inscriptions <sup>4</sup>. A branch of the Cālukya family was founded in Lāṭa during his reign and assigned to Jayasimhavarman Dharaśraya <sup>5</sup>.

680—696 A. D. *Vinayāditya*—He made all the surrounding rulers as his allies <sup>6</sup>, including those of Pārasikas on the Malabar coast and Simhala.

696-633 A. D. *Vijayāditya*—During his reign the idols of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara were installed at Vātāpīpura in Śaka 621, i.e. 699 A. D.

1. I. A. I. pp. 363; VIII. p. 168.

2. The famous Aihole Inscription, I. A. VIII, p. 243, ff, relates all about his campaigns.

3. J. B. B. R. A. S. II. p. 4; I. A. IX, p. 123.

4. I. A. VI. pp. 86, 89, 92; J. B. B. R. A. S. III. p. 203; I. A. IX, pp. 127-130-31.

5. J. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. p. 27.

6. I. A. VI, p. 89.

- 733-744 A. D. *Vikramāditya II*—He defeated Nandipotavarman. He entered Kāñcī and granted immense wealth to temples and Brahmins. He marched against the Cōlas, the Keraḷas and the Pāṇdyas and reduced them <sup>1</sup>. His queens Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī built two temples at Paṭṭadakal *i.e.* Lokeśvara and Trailokyēśvara respectively.
- 744-757 A. D. *Kirtivarman II*—Dantidurga wrested all the power of the Cālukyas during his reign.

### The Rāstrakūṭas of Malkhēḍa 722-973 A. D.

The Rāstrakūṭas are designated as *Laṭṭalūrapuravarādhīśvaras*. Their later records *i. e.* from 870 A.D. claim a Yadu descent. (Sātyaki branch).

- 722 A. D. *Indra I* :—He carried away the Cālukya princess Bhavanāgā from the marriage pendal at Kaira <sup>2</sup>.

- 745-758 A. D. *Dantidurga* :—defeated the rulers of Kāñcī, Kaliṅga, Śrī-Śaila, Kosala, Lāṭa, Ṭaṅka and Sindh <sup>3</sup>. He marched against the eastern neighbours in Kosala <sup>4</sup>. Udayana of Śīrpur, Jayavardhana (Pṛthivī-vyāghra) of Śrīvardhan, King of Kutch, Gurjara of Bharoach <sup>5</sup>, Cālukyas of the Gujrat Branch, and Kirtivarman II <sup>6</sup>. He probably occupied Khāndesh, Nāsik, Poonā, Sātāra and Kolhāpūr. Govinda was appointed as Governor of Gujrat.

- 758-772 A. D. *Kṛṣṇa I* :—Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara <sup>7</sup>. He succeeded his nephew. He removed Karka II from the Governorship of Gujrat. He defeated Rāhappā (Kirtivarman or Viṣṇuvardhana of Veṅgī ?). He overthrew the Cālukyas completely. Yuvarāja Govinda was sent against King Viṣṇuvardhana of Veṅgī (770 A. D.) <sup>8</sup>. He became the ruler of the Marāṭhi C. P. He added Konkana to his kingdom and appointed Saṇṇaphulla there <sup>9</sup>.

1. *Ibid.* VIII p. 267.

2. *E. I.* XVIII, Sanjan plates, pp. 235 ff.

3. *E. I.* IX. pp. 24 ff.

4. *Altekar, The Rāstrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 37.

5. *Ibid* p. 38.

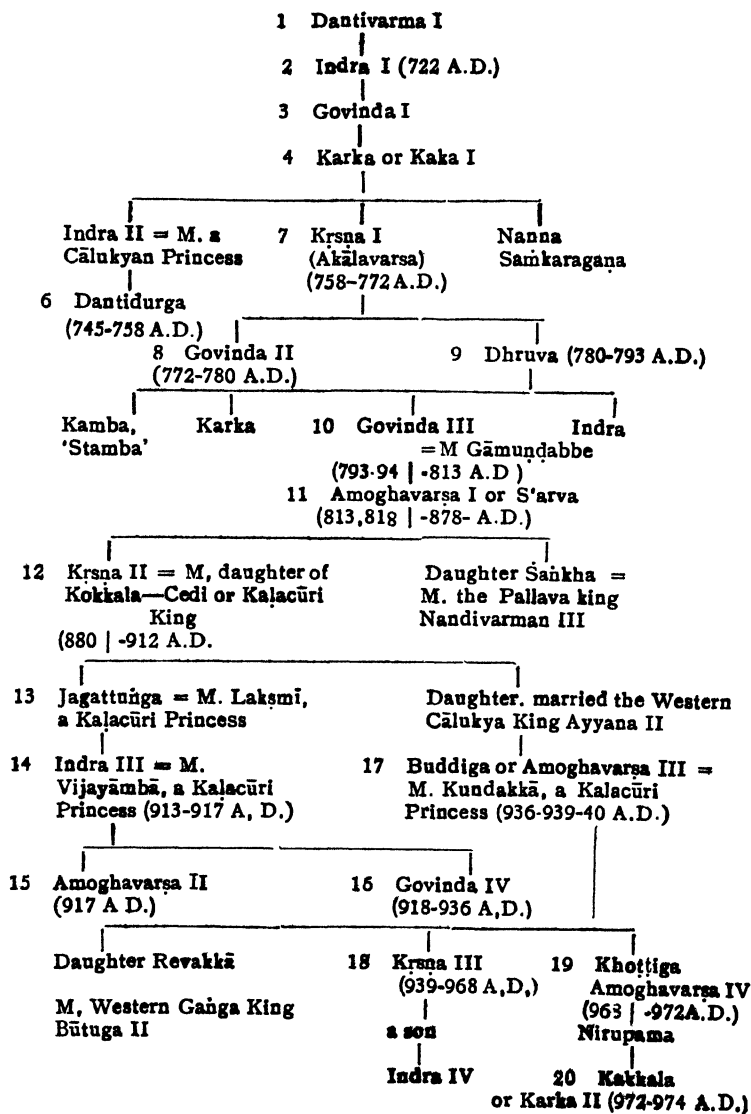
6. *I A.* XI. p. 111.

7. *Ibid* V. pp. 145 ff; XII. pp. 181 ff; XIII, pp. 46 ff.

8. *E. I.* VI. pp. 208 ff.

9. *E. I.* III. pp. 292 ff.

### The Rāstrakūṭas



772-780 A.D. *Govinda II* :—Prabhūtavarṣa Vikramāvaloka. His throne was usurped by Dhruva in about 780 A.D.<sup>1</sup>.

780-793 A.D. *Dhruva*:—Śrī Vallabha or Kalivallabha. He gave a death blow to Govinda's reign with the help of the rulers of Kāñcī, Gaṅgavādī, Veṅgī and Mālava. Later he defeated all the refractory feudatories i.e. of Talkād, Kāñcī, Veṅgī, Mālava; and defeated and imprisoned the Gaṅga king Śivamāra<sup>2</sup>. He marched against his younger brother Vijayāditya and appointed his elder brother Stambha in his place. The Pallava king surrendered to him. He further marched against the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja (Ruler of Avanti) and defeated the Gauda king Dharmapāla<sup>3</sup>. And the battle took place in the Ganges-Jumnā Doab. He had four sons, Stambha, Karkasuvarṇavarṣa, Govinda and Indra. After his return from the northern expedition he enthroned Govinda<sup>4</sup>.

793-94 A.D.—813 A.D. *Govinda III*:—He subsided the conspiracy of his brother and appointed Indra over Gujrat. He defeated and imprisoned the Gaṅga King Muttarasa in about 798 A. D. and annexed Gaṅgavādī. He defeated the Pallavas<sup>5</sup>. And a twelve years' war with Vijayāditya of Veṅgī begins. As Dr. Altekar points out, he marched against Nāgabhaṭṭa II, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler and further against Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha, pursued the latter right up to the Himālayas, and brought them both to subjugation<sup>6</sup>. Amoghavarṣa was born in 808 A. D. during his stay at Śrībhavan, while king Śarva was busy welcoming him<sup>7</sup>. Later he defeated the Gaṅgas, and also the rulers of Keraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Kāñcī<sup>8</sup>. The king of Ceylon paid tribute to him as a vassal<sup>9</sup>.

1. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 51 ff.

2. *I. A.* XI, p. 157, also to corroborate *E. C.* XII. Nj. No. 129

3. Altekar, *op. cit.* 50. ff.

4. *E.* I. IV, pp. 242 ff.

5. *I. A.* XI, p. 126.

6. *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 87 ff; Gwalior Inscription of Bhoja, *A. S. R.* 1903-4; Altekar *op. cit.* p. 65.

7. *E. I.* XVIII, vv. 26-27.

8. *Ibid.* V. p. 30.

9. *Ibid.* V. 34.

813-18-878 A. D. *Amoghavarṣa I* :—Nṛpatuṅga, ruled for 64 years.

He was dethroned for a while <sup>1</sup>, but Karka subsided the rebellion and restored him to the throne 'before the month of May 821 A. D.' <sup>2</sup>. The twelve years' war with Vijayāditya <sup>3</sup> was continued during his reign. He defeated Guṇaga Vijayāditya (860 A. D.) <sup>4</sup> and crushed down the rebellion raised by his cousins of Gujrat <sup>5</sup>. The rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha paid tribute to him; and Pullaśakti (Koṅkaṇ) and the king of Mālava were his feudatories <sup>6</sup>. He offered his daughter Candralēkhā to the Gaṅga king Būtuga. The authorship of the famous work *Kavirājamārga* is ascribed to him. He was a follower of Jina and a devotee of Mahālakṣmī also. His preceptor's name is Jinasēna, the author of the *Ādi-Purāṇa*.

880-912 A. D. *Kṛṣṇa II* :—He married the daughter of the Cēdi ruler <sup>7</sup>, The battles of Niravadyapura and Peruvaṅgura-grāma <sup>8</sup> took place during his reign, and the utter destruction of the Gujrat branch was effected <sup>9</sup>. His preceptor's name is Guṇabhadra <sup>10</sup>. His son Jagattuṅga predeceased him.

913-917 A. D. *Indra. III*:—He conquered king Upendra <sup>11</sup> (Paramāra chief Kṛṣṇarāja), attacked Ujjayini <sup>12</sup>, crossed the Jumna and took Mahīpāla as fugitive <sup>13</sup>.

C. 917 A. D. *Amoghavarṣa II*: 918-936 A. D. *Govinda IV* : Mahīpāla regained his power.

1. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

2. *Ibid* pp. 73 ff.

3. *E. I.* IX, p. 24.

4. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 75.

5. *E. I.* XVIII. pp. 236-7.

6. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 78 ff.

7. *I. A.* XII, pp. 247 ff.

8. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 96; *Inscriptions from Madras Presidency*, Kistna District, No. 19.

9. *I. A.* XII, p. 24; *E. I.* VII, p. 29; Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 98.

10. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XXII, p. 85.

11. *Ibid.* XVIII, p. 255.

12. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 100-101.

13. *Karnāṭaka Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, p. XIV.

936-939-40 A. D. *Amoghavarṣa III* :—He was a devotee of Śiva. He offered his daughter *Ravakanimmaḍī* to the Gaṅga king Permaḍi Būtuga II. During his reign his son Kṛṣṇa killed Dantiga and Vappuga<sup>1</sup> (Nolamba Province), and Rācamalla. Kṛṣṇa further marched against the Cēdis and occupied the forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa (Caṇḍela Country)<sup>2</sup>. Some hitch between the Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas ensued during his reign.

Dec. 939-938 A. D. *Kṛṣṇa III* :—The Gaṅga king Būtuga then killed the Cōla king Rājāditya<sup>3</sup>; conquered Tañjāpurī (Tanjore) and Kāñcī; defeated the Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas; and exacted tributes from the king<sup>4</sup> of Ceylon and 'planted the creeper of fame at Rāmeśvara'. In lieu of his services Kṛṣṇa granted him the 'Banavāsi 12,000, Beḷvol 300, Kisukāḍ 70, Bāgenāḍ 70, and Purigere 300'<sup>4</sup>. Later Būtuga's son Mārasimha helped him. With his help Kṛṣṇa defeated Siyaka (and not Mūlarāja as Konow would have it)<sup>5</sup> of Mālvā and Northern Gujrat. 'He ousted the Cālukya king and placed his own ally on the throne of Veṅgī.' He lost Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa.

968-972 A. D. *Amoghavarṣa IV* :—Khotṭiga Nityavarṣa; 'Siyaka and Harṣadeva won many battles at various places i. e. on the banks of the Tāptī, the Vindhya forests, Mānyakheta, etc. The capital Mānyakheta itself was sacked and destroyed.

972-974 A. D. *Karka II* :—He was overthrown by Taila II in about 974 A. D.

1. Altekar, *op cit.* p. 112.

2. *Ibid* p. 113.

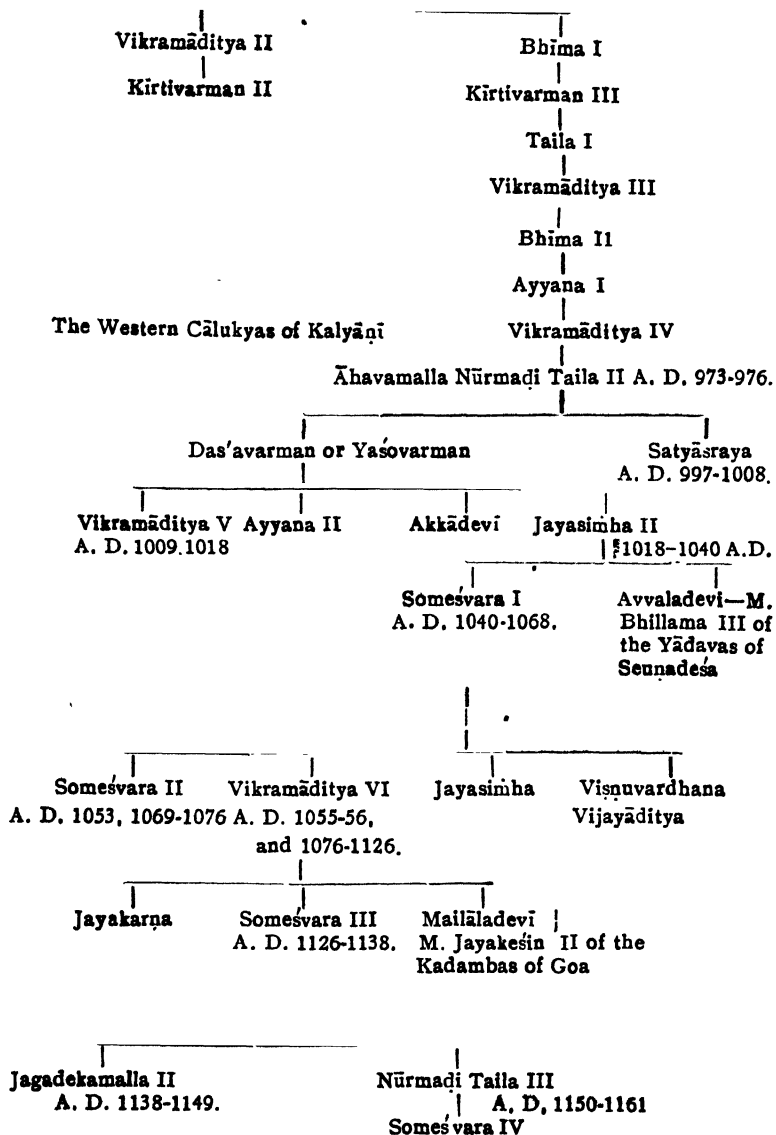
3. *E. I.* XLX. p. 83; earlier view *E. I.* XV. p. 81.

4. *E. I.* VI. p. 57.

5. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 120 ff.

## The Western Cālukyas of Kalyani

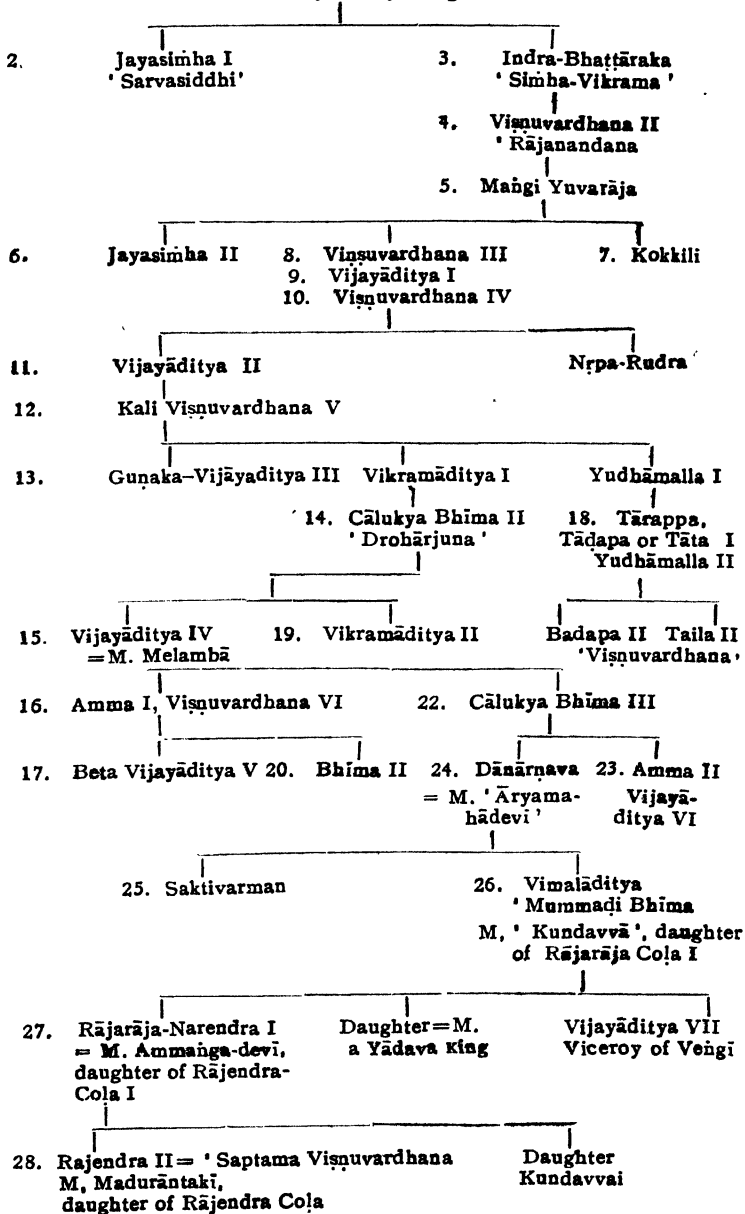
Vijayāditya (Bādāmi)





## The Eastern Cālukya Dynasty (Vengi)

1. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I (Brother of  
Early Cālukya king Pulikeśin II).



## IV (g) The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi

973- 1181 A. D.

(We need not enter here into the details of the problem of the relationship between the earlier and later Cālukyas.)

973-996 A. D. *Taila II*—The dynasty begins with Tailapa II. He defeated the Cōḷas <sup>1</sup>, King of Cedi <sup>2</sup>, Mūlarāja of Gujrat (through Bārappa), and the king Muñja of Mālva, whom he took prisoner and beheaded later on. His wife's name was Jākabbe or Jāthavve <sup>3</sup> or Jāvakkā.

997-1008 A. D. *Satyāśraya*. 1009-1018 A. D. *Vikramāditya V*.

1018-1040 A. D. *Jayasimha II*—He defeated Bhōja, <sup>4</sup> the Cēras in Śaka 946, the Cōḷas, and took away the treasures from the seven Koṅkanas. He later on encamped himself at Kolhāpūr <sup>5</sup>. He ceased to reign after 1040 A. D.

1040-1068 A. D. *Someśvara Ahavamalla*, Trailokyamalla—He turned his arms against the Cōḷas <sup>6</sup> and captured Dhārā (from which Bhōja was compelled to abandon). Afterwards, Someśvara attacked Cēdi and Dāhala; deposed and slew Karna <sup>7</sup> and marching against Western Koṅkan (where he erected a triumphal column) later proceeded to Kāñci and captured it. He defeated the king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) <sup>8</sup>.

Someśvara founded the city of Kalyāṇi <sup>9</sup> and made it his capital. He had three sons Someśvara, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha <sup>10</sup>. He installed Someśvara, as prince-regent, though against his own wishes.

*Exploits of Vikramāditya*—Bilhana gives a graphic description of the march of Vikramāditya—'He defeated the Cōḷas, and the king

1, I. A. V, p 17.

2. *Ibid*.

3. I. A. XXI, p. 168.

4. I. A. V. p. 17.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*, I. 90; J. R. A. S. IV, p. 13.

7. *Ibid*, I. 102-3.

8. I. A. VIII, p. 197.

9. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*, II. 7.

10, *Ibid*. II. 57-58 and 85; III, 1, 25.

of Simhala and then taking the city of Gangaikonda, proceeded to the country of the Cōlas; and later turned to Kāñcī and plundered it. He then proceeded to Veṅgī and Cakrakoṭa. Besides, he replaced the king of Mālvā on the throne and invaded the Gauḍa country (Bengal) and Kāmarūpa (Assam).<sup>1</sup>

In the meanwhile Someśvara I was attacked by high fever, and Bilhana fully describes how he took Jalasamādhī on the laps of the mighty river Tuṅgabhadra<sup>2</sup> in 1069 A. D.<sup>3</sup>

1053, 1069-1076 A. D. *Someśvara II*; Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramāditya returned from his exploits. There was good understanding between the two brothers for a while. We need not enter into the details of Vikramāditya's wanderings—all of which ended into the following<sup>4</sup> e. g. that Vikramāditya gave a tough fight to the armies of Someśvara and his brother Rājiga. A bloody battle ensued in which Vikramāditya proved victorious; the new king of the Drāvidas fled; and Someśvara was taken prisoner.

1055-56 and

1076-1126 A. D. *Vikramāditya VI*—After these events Vikramāditya usurped the throne in Śaka 998 or 1076-7 A. D. He assigned the province of Banavāsi to Jayasimha<sup>5</sup>. He reigned peacefully for about 50 years. He started a new era in his own name (Cālukya Vikrama Era). He married at Karahātaka, by Svayamvara, Chandralekhā or Chandaladevī, the daughter of the Śilāhāra king. A fight is said to have ensued between himself and Jayasimha<sup>6</sup>. His general Āca or Ācagi is said to have defeated the Hoysalas, and "made the Kings of Kalinga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gurjara, Mālava, Cēra and Cōla subject to his sovereign."

He built many temples and founded the city of Vikramapura<sup>7</sup>. He was a great patron of learning. His court was adorned by Bilhana and Vijñāneśvara.

1. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*, III, 55- 57; IV 21-30.

2. *Ibid.*, IV. 46-68.

3. *J. R., A. S.* IV, p. 4.

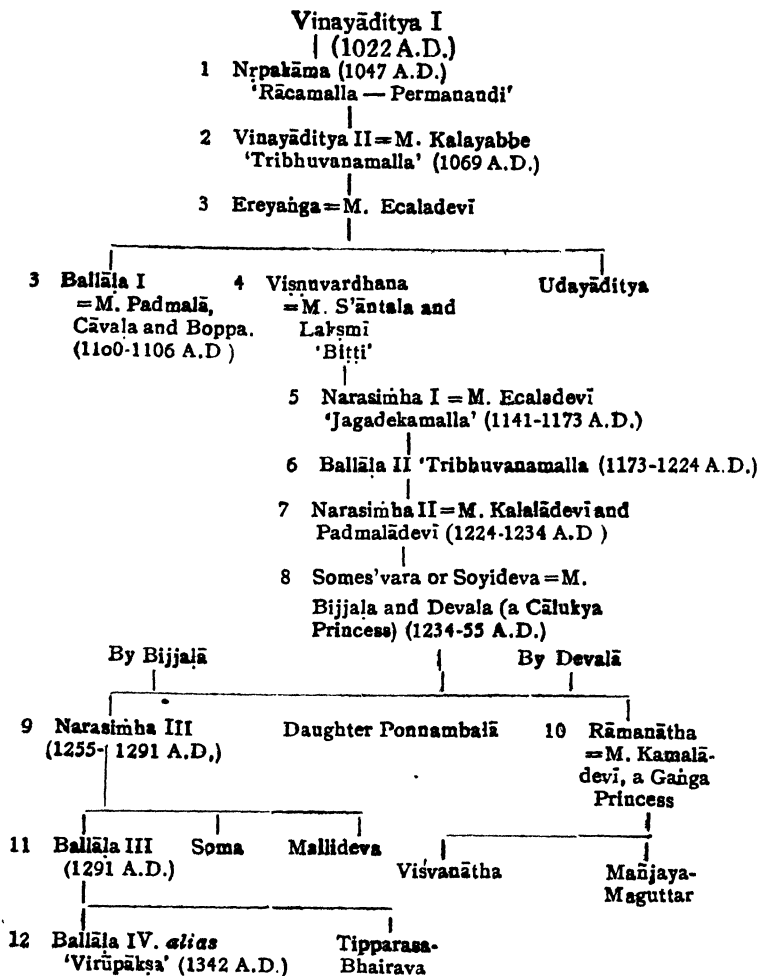
4. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*, I, 7.54.

5. *Ibid.* VI, 90-93; 98-99.

6. Jayasimha was pardoned by Vikramāditya. *Vikramāṅka* XV, 23, 41-42 55-71, 85-87.

7. *Ibid.* XVII, 15, 22, 29; *J., R., A. S.* IV, p. 15.

## The Hoysalas or the Yādavas of Dvārasamudra



1126-1138 A. D. *Someśvara III*; Bhūlokamalla. He was brave, and the work *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi* is ascribed to his authorship.

1138-1149 A. D. *Jagadekamalla II*; *Tailapa*: III-1150-1161 A. D.

#### IV (b) The Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra

The Hoysalas (Poysala, Poysana and in Tamil Poyicala or Polhaḷa) were styled as *Maleparol gaṇḍa* (champion among the hill-chiefs). They hailed from Śasakapura or Sasarūr (Āṅgaḍi ?) in the Western Ghats <sup>1</sup>. After the 11th century they call themselves as Dvārāvati-puravarādhīśvara and of Yādava descent. It is said that the incident of Saḷa took place in the time of Vinayāditya. They are styled as Hoysala Ballāḷas. They were dark enemies of the Yādavas of Devagiri.

1022 A. D. *Vinayāditya I*. 1047 A. D. *Nṛpa-Kāma Hoysala*.

1069 A. D. *Vinayāditya II*—The Guru of King Vinayāditya was Śāntideva.

1100-1106 A.D. *Ballāḷa I*.

1106-1141 A.D. *Viṣṇuvardhana Bittideva* : He was converted into Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja. He drove out the Cōḷas from Mysore, and defeated the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchāṅgī at Dumma <sup>2</sup>. His first wife's name was Piriয়ারசி Śāntaladevī. After her death he married Lakkumā, who had a son, crowned as king from the date of his birth <sup>3</sup>.

1141-1163 A.D. *Narasimha I*—The Cāṅgāḷvas were slain in battle and a Kaḍaba force destroyed <sup>4</sup>. He was attacked by Jagadekamalla in 1143 A.D., but he soon declared independence immediately the Kaḷacūris destroyed the Cālukyās. Later he became voluptuous and had 384 well-born females in the female apartments <sup>5</sup>. The building operations of the Hoysalesvara temple began in his reign. He had a son named Ballāḷa II to his chief queen Ecaladevī.

1. *E.C. VI*, Mg. q. 15, 16, 18.

2. *E.C. VI*, Cm. 99.

3. *Ibid* V. Bl. 93, 126.

4. *Ibid*. IV, Ng, 76; V, Bl. 193.

5. *Ibid*. V. Bl. 193, 114.



1291-*Ballāḷa III*—He marched against the Seuṇa king in 1305 A.D.<sup>1</sup>. In 1310 A.D. Malik Kafur, under orders from Allauddin Khilji 'descended upon Dvārasamudra and sacked it and took Ballāḷa prisoner and returned with a lot of gold'<sup>2</sup>. Though Ballāḷa ruled for a while, after he was liberated, yet the dynasty practically came to an end.

1342 A.D. *Virūpākṣa*—He was defeated at Beribi by the Turuṣkas in 1342 A.D.<sup>3</sup>, about which incident Ibn Batuta gives a graphic description. According to him Virūpākṣa's skin was stuffed with straw and exposed by Ghiyas-ud-din, Sultan of Madura.

#### IV (i) The Yadavas of Devagiri (or The Seunas)

12th Century A. D.—1312 A.D.

They were originally styled as Seuṇa kings<sup>4</sup>, mainly on account of the fact that they occupied the Seuṇa region. From about 1000 A.D., they trace themselves to the Yādava race<sup>5</sup>.

1187-1191 A.D. *Bhillama*; *Sāmanta-bhuvaneśvara*, *Śrī Prthivīvallabha* and *Pratāpacakravartin*. By about 1189 A.D. he restored the Northern and Eastern portion of the Cālukya kingdom from Someśvara IV<sup>6</sup>. But the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Śilāhāras of Karbād and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and Goā did not yield to him. Later the Hoysaḷas deprived him of the Southern province<sup>7</sup>.

1191-1210 A.D. *Jailugi*.

1210-1247 A.D. *Singhaṇa*.—He overthrew Ballāḷa II and restored all the lost dominions. He subjugated the Śilāhāra

1. E.C. VIII, Sa, 146.

2. *Ibid* V. Hm. 51, 55; Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, p 373. 3. E. C. VI, Kd.75.

4. E. I. III, p. 217; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p, 30; the Pratāparudriya speaks of them as the Yādava kings of Sevana; I. A. XXI, p. 199.

5. E. I. I p. 212; Sangamner grant of Bhillama II; Hemādri's *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, Bhandarkar R. G., *Early History of the Deccan*, App. c.

6. *Carn. Deśa Ins.* II, p. 356,

7. P.S. and O.C, Ins. 1, 2, 3; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 30.

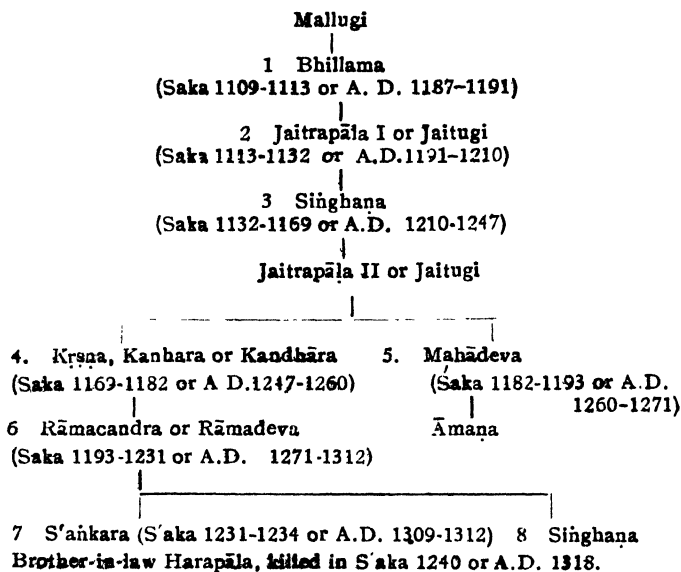
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graph TD
    D[Dr̥ḍhaprahāra] --> S1[Seuṇacandra I]
    S1 --> D1[Dhāḍiyappa I]
    D1 --> B1[Bhillama I]
    B1 --> R[Rājagi or Srīrāja]
    R --> V1[Vādugi or Vaddiga I]
    V1 --> D2[Dhāḍiyappa 1]
    V1 --> B2[Bhillama II, Saka 922]
    B2 --> V2[Vesugi I]
    V2 --> B3[Bhillama III, Saka 948]
    B3 --> V3[Vādugi II]
    V3 --> V4[Vesugi II]
    V4 --> B4[Bhillama IV]
    B4 --> S2[Seuṇacandra II, Saka 991 or A.D. 1069]
    S2 --> P[Parammadeva]
    S2 --> S[Singhana]
    P --> G[Govindarāja]
    P --> B[Ballāḷa]
    P --> B5[Bhillama]
    S --> M[Mallugi]
    M --> A[Amaragaṅga]
    M --> Am[Amaramallagi]
    M --> B6[Bhillama V or I ;  
died Saka 1113 or  
A.D. 1191]

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## The Later Yadavas or The Yadavas of Devagiri



country; subdued Bhōja<sup>1</sup>; and invaded the Gurjara country<sup>2</sup>. His Daṇḍanāyaka Viṇaṇa reduced the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Kadambas of Goa<sup>3</sup>. The famous Cāṅgadeva, the royal astronomer, founded a college for the study of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi<sup>4</sup>.

1247-1260 A. D. *Kṛṣṇa*.

1260-1271 A. D. *Mahādeva*.—He defeated Viśāla but lost his possessions in Mysore. The Guttas were his feudatories. The famous and brilliant scholar Hemāḍapanta, the author of *Deśināmamālā*, was his minister<sup>5</sup>.

1271-1312 A. D. *Rāmadevarāya* and *Śaṅkara*.—Rāmadevarāya is referred to in the *Jñāneśvarī* of Jñāneśvara, and in a manuscript of the Nāmalingānuśāsana of Amarasimha (1297 A. D.). Rāmadevarāya and his son Śaṅkara were routed in 1294 A. D., by the forces of Allauddin, under the generalship of Malik-Kafur. The dynasty very soon came to an end.

The *Smṛtisthaḷa*, a Mahānubbhāva work in Marāṭhī, describes that Kāmāyisā was the senior queen of Rāmarāya; and that after the death of Rāmarāya she was forcibly thrown into the funeral pyre, by her step-son Siṅghaṇa. This Siṅghaṇa seems to be the step-brother of Śaṅkaradeva. With Siṅghaṇa the dynasty came to a close<sup>6</sup>.

#### IV (j) The Four Dynasties Of Vijayanagara

(1336 to 1668 A. D.)

The two sons of Saṅgama, Hakka and Bukka, are said to have been the founders of the Vijayanagara dynasty. The popular version goes that Mādhava or Vidyāranya, the head of the Śrīgerī Maṭha, assisted them in founding the empire. It is still an unsolved problem.

The Saṅgama dynasty claims its descent from the Yādava race. A Sāluva chief founded the Sāluva dynasty. The Narasiṅga dynasty came from Tuḷuva. The last was the Araviḍu Dynasty, which was Telugu in its origin.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *The Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 240 ff.

2. *Ibid.*

3. J. B. B. R. A. S. XV, p. 385.

4. *E*, I. I. p. 338.

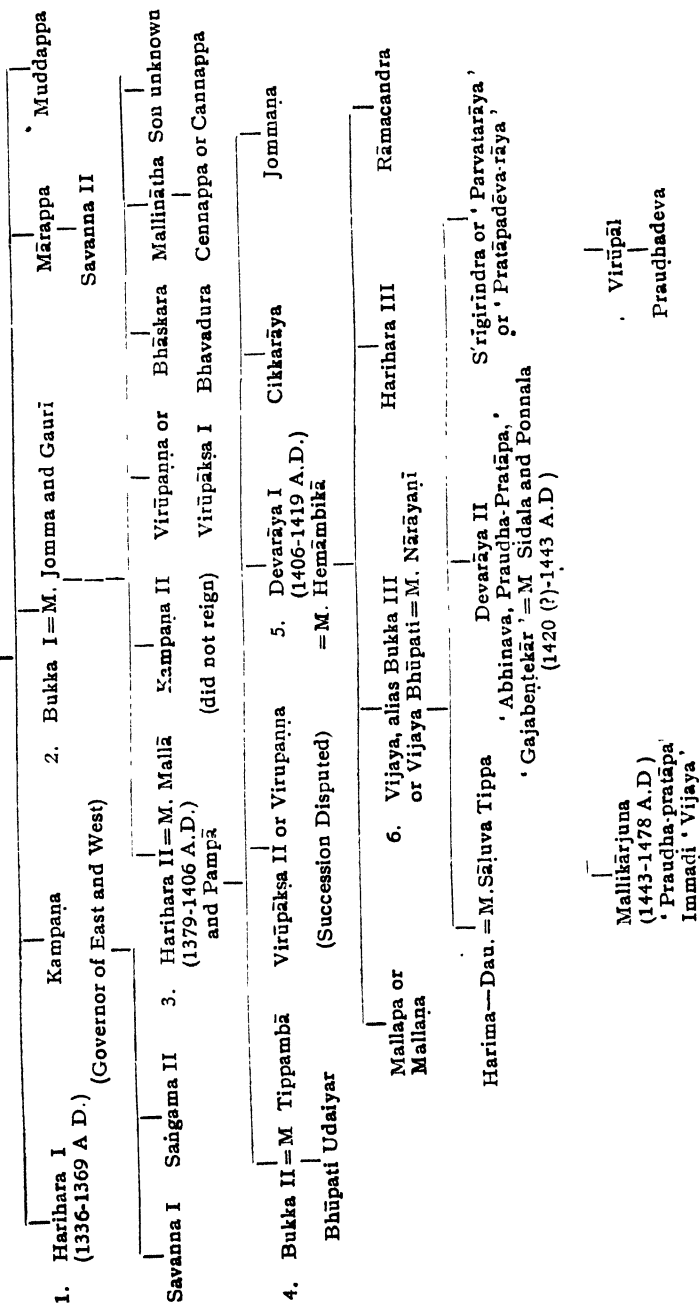
5. R. G. Bhandarkar, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 248.

6. *Smṛtisthaḷa*, edited by V. N. Deshpande, paras. 145-46, 148-50 and p. 123.

I. *Sargama Dynasty* (1331-1478 A.D.)

I. *Sargama Dynasty* (1331-1478 A.D.)

San̄gama I=M. Kāmākṣī



## II. Sājuva Dynasty

### 1. Sājuva Narasiṃha I

(1478-1496 | A. D.)

A Son

Immaḍi-Narasiṃha or 'Tamma' or Tammaya' (Dharmarāja)  
Killed in 1505 ; and the Tuļuva Minister Narasa Nāyaka usurped  
the throne (1505).

## III Tuļuva Dynasty

(1496-1567 A. D.)

Tiṃma = M. Devaki

Īśvara, alias Kṣitipālaka = M. Bukkamā and Devaki

### 1. Narasa Nāyaka

= M. Tippāji, Nāgalā and Obambikā, 1505

(By Nāgalā)

(By Obambikā)

### 3. Kṛṣṇadevarāja

(1509-1530 A.D.)

4. Acyuta

Raṅga--M. Tiṃmambā

5. Veṅkaṭādri

6. Sadaśiva

### 2. Vira Narasiṃha 'Bhujabalarāja'

Tirumala

Dau. Tirumalāmbā  
= M. Alīya Rāma-  
rāja of the Araviḍu  
family

Dau. Veṅgalā

= M. Tirumala of the Araviḍu family  
—brother of Rāmarāja

# IV Araviḍu Dynasty

(1567-1668 A. D.)

Tāra Pinnama

Somideva

Rāghavadeva

Pinnama

'Lord of Araviḍa'

Bukka

Minister of Śāluva Narasiṃha who usurped the throne of Vijayanagara in 1485-86

Rāmārāja = M. Lakkambikā

Siṅgarāja of Nandya

1 Tirumala-usurped the throne of Venkaṭādri of Vijayanagara Four Daughters  
Vijayanagara about 1570 =  
M. Vaṅgalā and others

Mona

Timma  
Aliya Rāmārāja  
Killed in 1565

Kṛṣṇa

Pedda  
Timma

Konda  
Rāma

Cinna  
Timma

1  
S'rīraṅga

6  
Pedda  
Venkaṭa II  
= M. Baṅgarā

Raḡhunātha  
Tirumala  
and Kṛṣṇa

2 S'rīraṅga I  
Rāma I

Venkaṭa  
Gopāla 8 Venkaṭa  
III

9 S'rīraṅga

Venkaṭa I

Tirumala

Venkaṭa

7 S'rīraṅga III

8 Venkaṭa III

(a son)

## I Sangama Dynasty

1336-1478 A. D.

1336-1379 A. D. *Harihara I*. He was succeeded by Bukka.

*Bukka; Hindu-Rāya-Suratraja*—His two brothers Kampana and Mārappa ruled over a part in the East (near-about Nellore) and West respectively. He subdued the Kadambas. The building of the new city and the transformation of its name into Vijayanagara, the City of Victory, are said to have been the work of Bukkarāya <sup>1</sup>. He reconciled the religious quarrel between the Jains and the Hindus<sup>2</sup>—which incident has brought him deserved fame in history.

1379-1406 A. D. *Harihara II*—*Mahārājādhirāja, Rāja-Paramēśvara, Karnāṭaka-Vidyā-vilāsa* <sup>3</sup>. He carried on the struggle against the Sultans of Gulburga.

1406-1419 A. D. *Devarāya I*; Dewul Roy (Ferishta). It is said that Timmayya Ārasa, the later Minister of Kṛṣṇarāya, warded off the conspiracy on his life <sup>4</sup>. In his later years he gave a crushing blow to the Sultans and laid waste the Bijapur city. But the Sultan's son Ahmadshah, as a reaction massacred thousands of Hindu men, women and children. Peace is said to have been effected during the later period.

1489 A. D. The Bahamani Kingdom was divided into five parts: Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Berar and Bidar.

1420(?) - 1443 A. D. *Devarāya II; Gaja-Veṅkara*—an elephant hunter. He possessed 10,000 Turuṣka horsemen in his services <sup>5</sup>. The mighty glory of the empire is described by the foreign travellers thus: 'The kings of Pallecote (Palamcottah), Cuollao (Kollam *i. e.* Travancore), Ceyllas (Ceylon,) Peggu (Pegu), Tennaserim and many other countries paid him tribute.' The next two reigns are not worth mentioning.

1443-1478 A. D. *Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa*,

1. E. C. V, Cm, 286.

2. E. C. VIII, Sb. 136; IX, Ma. 18; II, Sb. 136.

3. I. A. LI, p. 234.

4. *Ibid.*

5. E. C. III, Sr. 15,

## II The Saluva Dynasty

1478 to 1496 A. D.

1473-1496 A. D. *Sāluva Narasiṃha*—*Medive-Mīśraguṇa*, *Kāthora Sāluva*. He was the most powerful monarch in Karnāṭaka and Teliṅgaṇa. He usurped the throne of Virūpākṣa in 1478 A. D. He fled away, captured and plundered Kāñcī, when his capital Vijayanagara was attacked by the Bahamaṇi Sultans.

*Immaḍi Narasiṃha*—He was murdered by his general Narasa in 1496 A. D. and a new dynasty of the Tuḷuvas enters on the scene

## III The Tuḷuva Dynasty

1496-1567 A. D.

*Narasa*—Bestowed gifts and donations at Kāmeśvara and other places

1509-1530 A. D. *Kṛṣṇadevarāya*—He was the most famous personage among the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. He inflicted a crushing blow against the Muhammadan armies. "His empire reached Cuttack in the East and Salsette in the West." He invaded Kaṇḍaviḍu and took Virabhadra as prisoner <sup>1</sup>.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya was a patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. 'He had in his court the *Aṣṭa-Diggajas* or the eight celebrated poets. Regarding his work in the field of literature cf. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*' <sup>2</sup>. He built the town of Hospet in honour of Nāgaladevī, a courtesan, and to whom he was bound by promise in his youth <sup>3</sup>.

1530 A. D. *Acyutarāya*—He built the Acyutarāya temple at Vijayanagara. *Veṅkaṭa*—He was crowned as king when still an infant. *Sadāśivarāya* and *Rāmarāya*—Rāmarāya was the brother-in-law of the great Acyutarāya. He is called the 'Bismark of the Vijayanagara Court'. In fact it was he who managed the entire affairs in the state.

1, E. C. XI, Dg. 107.

2, S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* p. 11; cf. also *Literature*. (*infra*).

3. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 363.

1565 A.D. A bloody battle ensued at Rakkasa-taṅgaḍgi, wrongly designated as of Tālikoṭ-iṇ which Rāmarāya was slain and the town was being plundered and sacked for a period of over six months. Sewell gives a graphic account of the same.

#### IV The Aravidu Dynasty

( 1567 A. D. to 1668 A. D. )

Immediately after the battle of Rakkasa - taṅgaḍgi, the Aravities, who were the ministers of the previous two emperors occupied the throne. They trace their origin to the moon <sup>1</sup>. The later chiefs of Ānegundi, whose descendants still get the pension under the British Government, are their descendants.

*Tirumalarāya* ; *Raṅgarāya* ; *Veṅkaṭa I* - Komara or Cinna - Veṅkaṭātri - The capital was removed to Candragiri in 1585 and later to Chingleput. The Golconda forces captured these capitals in 1644 A. D.

*Raṅgarāya II* - He fled to Śivappa-nāyaka, chief of Bednur. The Vijayanagara empire came to a close with him.

1584 - 1664. *Veṅkaṭa II* - He was the brother of Raṅga. The great Tātācārya anointed him to the throne<sup>2</sup>. He set aback all the Muslim raids and defeated Mahmad Shah, son of Malik Ibrahim; subdued the Nāyakas; and established the Rajas of Mysore in a firmer position. He was an ally of the Portuguese and a great patron of literature and art.

#### IV (k) The Minor Dynasties

Besides the above, the Kaḷacūris and the various subordinate dynasties including the Mahā-maṇḍaleśvaras ruled over the different parts of Karnāṭaka. They are as follows : The Ālūpas, the Naḷas, the later Mauryas, the Śilāhāras of Karhād, Kolhāpur and Ratnāgiri, the Raṭṭas of Kundi, Sindas of Yelburga, Belgavartti and Kurugoḍu, the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchaṅgi, the Guttas of Guttuvolālu, the Senāvaras, the Sāntāras of Sāntalige, the early Hoysalas and later of the Kadam-bas of Hāṅgal and Goa, the Nāyakas, the Cāṅgāḷvas, the Holalkeri families and the Oḍeyars of Mysore.

We shall now study the problem of the cultural activities of these Kannāḍigas during the different historical periods.

1. E.C. XII, Trans. I

2. E.I. XII, p. 159.



## CHAPTER III

### ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

Early notions – Political divisions – Central Government – Ministry and other Palace Officers – Palace Staff – Provincial, District, Town and Village administration – Justice – Public Finance – Art of Warfare – Foreign Relations.

#### I Early Notions

As in the other branches of culture, the contribution of Karnāṭaka in the field of polity also is of an outstanding importance. In fact during the period of the rulership of the various dynasties of the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas, the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, we find a consistently gradual development in the administrative machinery – only to culminate in perfection in the regime of the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara Emperors.

We have already observed in the first chapter that the origin of the Early Man could be traced to the land of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. He must have lived on roots and fruits and equipped himself with all that was required for a hunting culture. In the Mohenjo Daro period we find in vogue a semi-monarchical form of government. It is only since the Mahābhārata period that a systematic form of government in the different provinces of India came into being.

According to the Purāṇas the two sub-divisions of India were known as Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. The range of the Vindhya mountains naturally formed the dividing line of the same. The Periplus refers to the Dakṣiṇabades and the various countries situated in it<sup>1</sup>. We have already referred to the Purāṇic version in regard to the countries situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Skānda Purāṇa refers to the seventy-two countries located in India, and mentions that Karnāṭaka consisted of one and a quarter of a lac and the Rāṭarājya of seven lacs<sup>2</sup>. Varāhamihira refers to the following among other countries located in the South: Bharukaccha, Vanavāsi, Śibika, Phaṇikāra, Koṅkaṇa, Ābhīra, Karnāṭa, Mahāṭavi, Citrakūṭa, Nāṣikya,

1. I. A., VIII, pp. 143-144 (cf. for detailed information under *Economic Condition*.)

2. Skānda P., Māheśvarakh. Kaumārīkakh. Adh. 37, 115 ff.

and Daṇḍakāvana. As we have observed above, the Skānda Purāṇa describes that Karnāṭaka was originally located on the (Western) sea-shore, probably round about Banavāsi or Byzantion of the Periplus. We shall make a mention of all the important towns and cities referred to in the Purāṇas and the accounts of foreign travellers in the next chapter.

The Minor Rock-inscriptions of Aśoka discovered at Maski (V), Brahmagiri (VI), Siddāpura (VII), and Jaṭiṅga Rāmeśvara (VIII), throw light on the early administrative machinery of Aśoka in regard to Karnāṭaka. It is said, "From Suvarṇagiri, at the word of the prince (Āryaputra) and of the Mahāmātras at Isila (probably Ilvala or Aihole) must have wished good health". Evidently the Āryaputra or the Royal Prince seems to have been the representative of the Emperor, and that Brahmagiri and Siddāpura belonged to the District of Isila.

The Cuṭu Sātakarnis are designated as Mahārathis (which, in our opinion, is equivalent to Mahārathi), or Mahāsenāpatis. The capital towns of the Sātavāhanas were Pratiṣṭhāna, Nāśik, Sāñci, Kallyāṇ, Amarāvatī and Dhanyakaṭaka. The Cuṭus seem to have formed Vijayanti as their capital.

The Sahyādri-khaṇḍa of the Skānda Purāṇa describes the countries situated in the *Sapta-Koṅkana* thus: Keraḷa, Tuluṅga, Haiva, Saurāṣṭra, Koṅkana, Karahāṭaka, and Karnāṭaka<sup>1</sup>. Gündert mentions the tradition of the expressions Virāṭa and Marāṭha instead of Karnāṭa and Saurāṣṭra.<sup>2</sup> The Prapañca-hṛdaya refers to the six countries of the Sapta-Koṅkana: Kūpaka, Keraḷa, Mūṣika, Āluva, Paśu and Para-Koṅkanas<sup>3</sup>. But, we agree with Dr. B.A. Saletore when he says, that all these versions seem to have come into vogue from the middle of the eleventh century onwards. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also refers to the Sapta-Draviḍa-bhū<sup>4</sup>, which is probably due to the sanctity given to the number seven.

1. *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*, *Uttarārḍha*, VI, 46-47.

2. Gündert, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*.

3. *Prapañca-hṛdaya*, Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivendram.

4. B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka I, History of Tuluva*, p. 31.

5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV Skandha, 28, 30.

As has been observed above, the boundaries of Karnāṭaka varied during the rulership of the different dynasties. In fact the Kannada kings one held sway over a vast territory from the Doab of Jumna and the Ganges, and included the territory of *Larike* (or *Lāṭa*) in Gujrat, Mālvā, Mahārāṣṭra in the north; and the Telugu and the Tamil provinces in the south.

## II Political Divisions

It may be noted at the outset that the various terms *visaya*, *rāṣṭra*, *nāḍu*, etc. applied to the various provinces or divisions of the Karnāṭaka kingdom become rather misleading if used with the same connotation during the different periods of its history. For the term *Karahāṭaka-ṣaya* 4,000 or the *Banavāsi* 12,000, whatever connotation it might have had when originally used it may not convey the same extent of area or territory during subsequent centuries. Yet we find that the same names with the same designations have remained in vogue for a long time. Therefore it behoves us to be cautious in our endeavour to understand these expressions when we come across them.

The following were the main divisions of the Karnāṭaka empire in the different historical periods :

Under the Kadambas the country was divided into four main divisions, *i.e.* North, East, West and South, of which *Palāśikā*, *Ucchāṅgī*, *Banavāsi* and *Tripurvata* were the capitals<sup>1</sup>. The other sub-divisions will be mentioned later.

When the Cālukyas emerged on the scene, there were the *Aparānta*, *Koṅkaṇa*, *Lāṭa*, the three *Mahārāṣṭrakas* containing 99,000 villages, and other provinces in existence. Besides, the whole country was divided into *ṣayas* and *deśas* equivalent to the *rāṣṭra* in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* records. Further, smaller units like *bhāga*, *kampana*, *pathake*, etc. were also in vogue. The capital towns of the early Cālukyas were located at *Vātāpī*, *Ānandapura*, near *Nāśik*, and *Indukānti*. The seats of the later Cālukyas were *Paṭṭadakal*, *Kolliṇṇake*, *Jayantipura*, *Kalyāṇī*, etc.

During the period of the Gaṅgas the word *nāḍu* became equivalent to the *rāṣṭra*. Their capitals were at *Kuvalāḷa*, *Talakādu*, and *Manne*.

1. Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 264.

Under the rulership of the Rāstrakūṭas the empire was divided into the following units : rāṣṭra (biggest unit equivalent to the maṇḍala of the other periods), viśaya (smaller division), bhukti (under Bhogapati or Bhogika) containing about 100 to 500 divisions, and grāma. Their capitals at different periods were formed of Mayura-khaṇḍi, Pratiṣṭhānagara and Mānyakhēṭa (Malkhed). The capital of the Yādavas of Devagiri was evidently Devagiri. The Hoysālas made Dvārasamudra and Kannanūr or Vikramapura as their capitals. The capitals of the Kaḷacuryas were Maṅgalveḍha and Kalyāṇi respectively.

In the Vijayanagara period the kingdom was divided into six main provinces, e.g. Udayagiri, Penugunḍa (including Gutturājya), Āraga or Malerājya, Candragutti, Mulavayi, Bārakūra (or Tuḷu), and Rājagambhīra, respectively<sup>2</sup>. After the battle of Rakkasa-taṅgaḍgi, as Mr. Richards observes,<sup>3</sup> the kingdom was divided into "Āndhra, Karnāṭa, Madura. Chandragiri, Gingee and Tanjore." Besides, the following sub-divisions of the empire are enumerated : grāma, nagara, kheda, kharvaḍa, madambe, paṭṭana, droṇamukha, sibmāsana.<sup>4</sup> Their main capitals were Hampe, Hāstināvati, Penugunḍa and Candragiri.

*A Controversy* :—Besides the above there were a number of divisions in vogue in the historical period e.g. Saptārdhalakṣa Raṭarājya or Raṭṭapāḍi, the three Mahārāṣṭrakas containing 99,000 villages, Kuṇḍi 3,000, Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, Banavāsī 12,000. Karahāṭaka 4,000, Kuṇḍi 3,000, Kundūr 1000, Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, Koṅkaṇa 1400, Tarḍavāḍi 1000, Hāṅgal 500, Kadambalige 1000, Koṭṭur 32,000, Halasige 12,000, Edadore 2,000, etc. A great controversy has centred around the question regarding the exact meaning conveyed by these numerical figures. As I have expressed it elsewhere<sup>5</sup> : "According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar the number may indicate either the revenue or the value of the land produce, or even the number of villages. Rice is of opinion, that the number indicates the revenue. Mr. C.V. Vaidya, on the other hand, strongly asserts, that the number cannot represent villages nor ploughs, and

1. A.S.R. for 1907-9, p. 235.

2. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, I, p. 67.

3. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 123.

4. A.P. Karmarkar, *I. H. Q.* XIV, p. 785.

leaves the problem undecided after suggesting that the number may indicate the amount of land produce paid as government share. According to Dr. Fleet, the figure refers to the number of "townships." In our opinion, however, the explanation lies absolutely the other way. In the Skānda Purāṇa, a fabulous figure of the respective number of the townships and the villages in India is given. India is said to have contained about 72,000 townships and 96,00,00,000 villages. Curiously enough, the Raṭarājya is said to have consisted of seven lakhs of villages, which fact nearly agrees with the expression noted above. This Raṭarājya did not include Karnāṭaka in so far as it has been separately mentioned in the same chapter. Therefore these numbers evidently indicated something fabulous and exaggerated in them. But one fact is certain that they always represented the number of villages.

### III Central Government

We do not find any trace of a republican form of Government in medieval Karnāṭaka. During this period the king was the absolute ruler of the state. The various records describe that a good king was the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, high-mindedness, valour, fame and delicacy, a friend of things living, spurning the riches of others, making gifts to priests, chiefs and the learned, honouring them and keeping their company<sup>1</sup>. Besides, a good king was also to be well-versed in the science of polity, e.g. Śāḍguṇya, the Caturupāya and the Sapta-Prakṛtis. However, it is a fact worth noting, that the majority of the kings of Karnāṭaka proved themselves the greatest warriors, the best statesmen, eminent literary personages, and the best rulers of the state.

*Checks on Royal Authority* :—In Karnāṭaka we do not find the existence of any public institutions like the Paura and the Jānapada, or the self-autonomous bodies (Village Assemblies) of the south, which could control the activities of the king<sup>2</sup>. However, though not to the same extent, the ministers used to assert their

1. *of. Skānda P. Māheśvarakh., Kaumārikākh., Adh. 37, 192 ff.*
2. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 259 ; cf. also, Fleet; *J.B.B.R.A.S. IX, p. 283 ; E C. IV, Hs. 18.*
3. The temporary occupation of the Tamil land by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Vijayanagara emperors did include such bodies. But they were not a permanent feature of the State.

own rights in matters of succession<sup>1</sup>. Further, how-so-ever their power may be limited, the village assemblies could partly work as a check on the king's authority. Apart from this, with the exception of the many expressions in the inscriptions, the position and the power of the king remained unchallenged.

*The Queen:*—The position of the queen was unique both at home and in the political life of the state. The extreme instance of their privileged position is to be seen in the Queens of Śrī-Puruṣa, Būtaga and Permaḍi, who ruled together with the king and the Yuvarāja, respectively<sup>2</sup>. The queen also took a keen interest in religious matters<sup>3</sup>. Besides she also took part when the king led an expedition in war.

*Succession:*—Generally kingship was hereditary in Karnāṭaka. Krishna Rao gives a different version altogether, while dealing with the Gaṅga administration. He says<sup>4</sup>: 'Normally the reigning monarch chose the fittest amongst his nearest relatives or sons, as heirs to the throne, and the eldest son had no prescriptive right by birth alone. The choice of an heir presumptive to the crown lay between the king's uncle, if younger than himself; a younger brother<sup>5</sup> or son of his elder brother; his own son or an adopted child<sup>6</sup>.'

*Education:*—The king supervised carefully over the question of education of the members of the royal family. Arrangements were made to educate them 'in the science of politics, of elephants, archery, medicine, poetry, grammar, drama, literature, the art of dancing, singing and instrumental music'<sup>7</sup>.

1. e.g. Govinda II was deposed and Amoghavarṣa III was installed on the throne. The Gaṅga king Durvinita's claims also were suspended. (M.A.R. 1916, p. 233; 1912, pp. 31-32).
2. E.C. IV, Hs. 92; E.C. III, Nj. 130.
3. M.A.R., 1926, p. 38.
4. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talakad*, p. 127.
5. E.C. III, Ni. 269; E.C. X, Sp. 59; E.C. III, Sr. 147.
6. E.C. III, Ta. 21.
7. E.I. X, 62; E.C. XII, Nj. 269, etc.

**Yuvarāja :—**The selection of the Yuvarāja was generally made in the lifetime of the king, e.g. selection of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda. The Yuvarāja was sometimes appointed as Viceroy or Governor of a province, e.g. the Gaṅga king Ereyāṅga, the Cālukya prince Vikramāditya, and king Stamba. He functioned also as a minister as can be seen from the various records. The prince sometimes helped the king in matters of administration<sup>1</sup>.

The Yuvarāja had the status of the Pañcamahā-sabdas, and was invested with a necklace which was the insignia of his office.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV Ministry And Other Palace Officers

In the earlier periods of its history Karnāṭaka was still a nation in the making. It was only after the full-fledged rule of the various dynasties i.e., the Cālukyas (Eastern and Western) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas that its administrative machinery assumed a 'body and form' and reached perfection during the next few centuries. A brief survey of the institution of the ministry and other Palace Officers in the different periods of Karnāṭaka history may be found useful.

*Ministry under the various representative dynasties :*

*Under the Gaṅgas* the following designations of the ministers holding different portfolios occur in the inscriptions : Sarvādhikāri (Prime Minister), Daṇḍanāyaka<sup>3</sup>, the Mannevergaḍḍe (The Royal Steward), Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri, Yuvarāja and Sandhivigrahin (Minister for Peace and War)<sup>4</sup>, spoken of also as Mallavijaya, Sūtrādhikāri and Mahā-Pradhāna<sup>5</sup>.

*In the Cālukya Period* there were the Sandhivigrahin (Minister for Peace and War), later called as Heri Sandhivigrahin<sup>6</sup> and Kannaḍa-Sandhivigrahin<sup>7</sup>; Heri-Lāṭa-Karnāṭa-Sandhivigrahin and

1. E.C. XII, 269.

2. E.I. IV, p. 242.

3. E.C. V. Hn. 53; E.C. II, SB. 240.

4. E.C. VI, Mg. 21; E.C. V, Ak. 194; E.C. X, Kt. 63.

5. E.C. XI, Dg. 25.

6. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 144.

7. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 457.

Kannada-Heri-Lāṭa-Sandhivigrahin; Mahā-Pradhāna<sup>1</sup>, Mantri, and Saciva<sup>2</sup> (the Prime Minister).

In the earlier years of the regime of the Hoysaḷas the system of the Pañca-Pradhānas or 'Five Ministers' of the Hoysaḷa administration is well-known. They were: (i) Śrīkaraṇādhikāri, (ii) the Hiriya Bhaṇḍāri, (iii) the Senādhipati, (iv) the Mahāpasāyita and (v) the Sandhivigrahin. But later on some more Ministers were included in the staff. The Prime Minister was called Sarvādhikāri, Sarva or Śiraḥ-pradhāna.

In the Vijayanagara period, the Rājagurus (like Vidyāraṇya and Vyāsarāya) play a prominent part. In this period the Kāryakartā<sup>3</sup> (whose functions are not still known) and the subordinate officers under the Daṇḍanāyaka like Nāyakas, Amaranāyakas and Paṭṭeyanāyakas appear on the scene. The Vijayanagara emperors otherwise follow in the footsteps of the Hoysaḷas.

## V Palace Staff

The inscriptions also detail the names and functions of other officers of the palace:

In the period of the Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ and the Hoysaḷas there were the following officers: the Mahāpasāyita (Minister of Robes), Mahālayaka (probably Mahā Āryaka, the Palace Chamberlain), the Antahpurādhyaḡsa or Antahpasāyika (connected with the palace secrets), the Nidhikāra (Treasurer), Śāsanādhikārikākṣapāṭalika, Rājapāla, Paḍiyara, Hadiyara or Hadihara (the Superintendents of the guiding of the public), and Sajjevella (Durbar Bakshi). Then there were the betel-carriers, Superintendent of ceremonies (Sarvādhikāri). Śrīkaraṇa-Heggade, and the Dharmādhikaraṇa<sup>4</sup> or Chief Justice. The life-guards in the time of the Hoysaḷas called themselves as Garuḍas. They even used to lay down their lives on their master's death.<sup>5</sup>

1. S. I. E. No 337 of 1920.

2. E. I. XIII, p. 20.

3. E. C. V, Hn 35, p. 11.

4. E. C. VI, Kp. 14, 37.

5. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 170-171.



During the period of the Kadambas the following were the private secretaries of the king : Rāyasūtrādhikārin ( Royal Draughtsman ) <sup>1</sup>, Mahāmātra <sup>2</sup>, Rajjuka Rahasyādhyaakṣa <sup>3</sup>, and Lekhaka.

Under the Cālukyas the following officers are enumerated : the Antahpurādhyaakṣa (Superintendent of the Harem), Karituragaverggaḍe (Minister for elephant-forces and cavalry), Śrīkarana ( Chief Accountant ), Mannevergggaḍde ( Palace Controller ), Dharmādhikārin ( Superintendent of Religious Affairs ), the Śāsanādhikārin, the Dānādhikārin, etc.

In the Vijayanagara period the various minor officers of the palace were : the betel-bearers, the Bhāṭas, the calendar-makers, the officials who conducted the royal worship, the engravers and the composers of inscriptions <sup>4</sup>.

It may be observed that the designations like the Mahāpradhāna-Daṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikāri, Senādhipati, Hriyahaḍavala or Mannevergaḍde, etc. referred to above, indicate the exact role played by the ministers in two or more departments of the state. The ministers were generally learned and skilled in statecraft <sup>5</sup>. Here are the qualifications described : ' Nārāyaṇa, the chief minister of Kṛṣṇarāja, was dear to him like his right hand and was full of vigour, employed by him in matter of peace and war, conversant with all the rules of state policy, a first-rate poet and kindly speaking, he delighting in the law as if embodied in human form.' They belonged to noble families, sometimes the Yuvarāja being included in the Ministry. Ministers like Cāmuṇḍarāja did the work both of a politician and a martial hero. The charters issued by the Śīlāhāras, who were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Koṅkaṇa, frequently describe the whole administrative machinery, mainly of all the ministers and their respective portfolios. Some of the Prime Ministers enjoyed the privilege of having feudatory titles and were

1. E. C. Ak. 123.

2. E. C. IX Nl. 1.

3. E. C. VII. Sk. 29.

4. Saletore, *Social and Political Life of the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 217 ff.

5. E. I. IV. p. 60.

entitled to the *Pañcamahāśabdas*<sup>1</sup> e. g. *Dalla*<sup>2</sup>, the Foreign Minister of Dhruva, and *Kālidāsa*<sup>3</sup>, the War Minister of Jagadekamalla. Further, the *Kaṭas* inscription of Govinda IV<sup>4</sup> informs us that generals were supplied with palatial buildings, permitted to use elephants for riding, invested with brilliant robes and cunningly worked staffs, which were the insignia of their office, and were authorised to use a multitude of curiously made parasols. They had, like the *Mahāsāmantas*, the great musical instruments of their own office. Sometimes the ministers were appointed (e. g. *Kālidāsa*) as chiefs of the feudatories<sup>5</sup>. The kings used to grant them villages<sup>6</sup> renamed after them<sup>7</sup>.

We need not add anything in regard to the working of this vast machinery, which was in itself efficient and perfect. The registers of all the original drafts of the royal documents, grants and endowments were kept at separate head-quarters (one such head-quarter being at *Thāṇā*)<sup>8</sup>. The *Cōḷa* records show that "royal orders, when drafted by the secretariat, were countersigned by the Chief Secretary<sup>9</sup>." Generally the grants contained the royal sign-manual, the names of the composer of the grant and the person who conveyed it to the grantee<sup>9</sup>.

## VI Provincial, District, Town and Village Administration

### *Provincial Administration*

The term *Mahāsāmantas* is rather differently used in the various periods of *Karnāṭaka* history. In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period the governors of the provinces were endowed with this designation. But under the *Čālukyas*, as *Rice* would have it, they were to supervise, control and direct the activities of the feudatory chiefs called *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvaras*.

The post of the *Mahāsāmantas* was sometimes hereditary as in the case of *Baṅkeya* and his descendants. They were sometimes

1. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 165.
2. *E. I.* X, p. 89.
3. *E. I.* VI, p. 140.
4. *E. I.* XIII, p. 334.
5. *I. A.* VI, p. 139.
6. *I. A.* VIII, pp. 279-280.
7. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
8. *S. I. I.* III, Nos. 151; 205.
9. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

called as Rāja or Arasa (*i. e.* Mārakkarasa, under Govinda III). The office of the Mahāsāmānta was also military. They could exercise the privilege of the remission of taxes 'even without the consent of the king.'

The Governors were assisted by officers like the Nāda-heggade, or Nāda-perggade, or Nāda-gāvunḍa. <sup>1</sup> They had their own courts at their capitals <sup>2</sup>. In the Kalacurya period Karanas or imperial censors-styled as Dharmmādhyakṣaṅgaḷ and Rājādhyakṣaṅgaḷ, used to supervise the policy of provincial Governors. And they possessed powers even to quell any insurrection if it was to arise. These Governors were probably helped by the Rāṣṭramahattaras <sup>3</sup>.

### The District and Taluka Officers

The Viṣayapatis and the Bhogikas or Bhogapatis managed the administrative work of the town and the Tālukā respectively. The Bhogapatis were sometimes given feudatory titles <sup>4</sup>. The Viṣayapatis were probably helped by the Viṣayamahattaras.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the problem of the appointment of the revenue officers, *i. e.* Nādagāvunḍa and others. Still the Viṣayapatis and the Bhogikas possessed power of remission of taxes. Further, as Dr. Altekar observes, "taxes in kind or foodstuffs and vegetables formed part of the pay of the local officers <sup>5</sup>."

*The Mahattaras*:—In some of the inscriptions are mentioned the Rāṣṭrapati—Viṣayapati—Grāmakūṭa—Āyuktaka—Niyuktaka—Adhikārika—Mahattaras. The word Mahattara is variously interpreted as : (i) Sheriff, Commissioner, Official and President (Barnett) <sup>6</sup>; (ii) also Grāmakūṭaka = village headman (Monier Williams) <sup>7</sup>. But we may agree with the conclusion of Dr. Altekar when he says, that "there is nothing improbable in the evolution of the bodies of the Viṣaya and Rāṣṭramahattaras on the analogy of the institution of the Grāmamahattaras which existed almost everywhere

1. E.C. VII. Sk. 219; cf. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 265.

2. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

4. I.A. XII, p. 225 (*Leṇḍeyarasa mahāsāmanta*).

5. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

6. I.A. VIII, p. 18.

7. E.I. XII, p. 145.

in the Deccan from 500 A.D. to 1300 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that there was also an officer called Mahattama-Sarvādhikārin appointed.<sup>2</sup>

### Town Administration

The towns were administered generally by the guild-corporations with their Prefect called the Paṭṭanaśeṭṭi. They were called as *Purapatis* and *Nagarapatis* in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes military officers were appointed to the posts<sup>4</sup>. Once, in the time of Jagadekamalla<sup>5</sup>, Mahādeva and Pālaladeva were appointed as joint prefects at Bādāmi. As Krishna Rao has aptly summarized the system of administration in the towns: "The Assembly of the town imposed taxes on house, oil-mills, potters, washermen, masons, basket-makers, shop-keepers, and customs on imports and exports, giving exemption to Brahmins from payment of chief taxes, and administered law and order through the Nāgarika or the Totigara—the magistrate and the head of the city police. He had to dispose of all important disputes relating to the roads and houses, regulate prices, take the census and keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city, at the same time remit regular accounts to the king. He also enforced regulations regarding houses and streets and sanitation, assisted by Gopas and Sthānikas. The Brahmins enjoyed exemption from payment of taxes and customs dues of the nād, on condition of carrying out annual repairs or managing public affairs, which they successfully performed by appointing one of their members in rotation once a month (*māsa-vaggadde tana*)."<sup>6</sup>

### The Village Administration

The villages were called by their various designations, e.g. Keri, Kallu, Bīḍu, Halli or Ūru, etc. It should be noted that the villages in Karnāṭaka were of three types, i.e. "Tāmil, Karnāṭaka and

1. Altekar, op cit., p. 159.

2. I.A. XIII, p. 66,

3. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talkad*, pp. 161-162

Mahārāṣṭra so far as the problem of the village council is concerned". The villages were divided into separate quarters of residence for the different communities.

The village officers consisted of (i) Gāvunḍa or Grāmakūṭa, Gāmunḍa or Sthalagowda, (ii) Yukta, Āyukta, Niyukta or Upayukta, or (iii) Karaṇa, Senābova, Śānabhoga or Lekhaka, (iv) Watchman (taḷavāra) and other minor servants like begārs (labourers), etc.

*Village Headman*:—The village headman was a hereditary officer. Generally there used to be only one headman for every village though several are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti.<sup>1</sup> The headman had to look after the defence<sup>2</sup>, the militia and revenue administration of the village. He was empowered to try petty criminal cases. He was allotted revenue-free lands in lieu of his services. He also used to enjoy the taxes in kind, payable to the king by the villagers, down to recent times.<sup>3</sup> Along with the headman the name of *perggaḍe* also is mentioned in some of the inscriptions. The headman used to escort royal ladies to their destination.<sup>4</sup>

### The Village Assembly

As already observed above the village assembly in Karnāṭaka was of three different types. The Tamil type was fully autonomous and the Kuḍuvolai system was in vogue under the same. The Karnāṭaka and the Mahārāṣṭra types consisted of the Mahājanas or village elders, who formed a democratic body equally useful and successful as their sister-institution in the Tamil land.

The Mahājanas were designated as Mahattaras in the Mahārāṣṭra and Perumakkaḷ in the Tamil land. The Mudinur<sup>5</sup> assembly consisted of 500 Mahājanas, whereas that of Kukanur,

1. Altekar, *Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 48, 54-55.

2. *E.I.* XI, p. 224. ff.

3. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 194.

4. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, p. 257.

5. *S.I. Epigraphy*, 1926, No. C. 464.

was comprised of 1002<sup>1</sup>. However, the 'Brahmin members of the assembly were designated as Mahājanas and the Vaiśyas as Nakharas.'

As has been pointed out by Dr. Altekar the Mahājanas formed the entire group of all the families in any village. The fact of an inscription at Perur (1022 A. D.) referring to the 500 families of Perur and on another occasion to an equal number of Mahājanas of Perur is enough to corroborate the above statement<sup>2</sup>. These Mahājanas also included all the adult population of the village. Except in the case of the Brahmādeya lands the Mahājanas consisted of people of different communities also.

The qualifications of the Mahājanas are described in the following inscription<sup>3</sup>: "The earth extols the 'thousand as being men abounding in (good) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipped by the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus feet of the blessed god Keśavāditya. The thousand are birth-sites' of supreme generosity."

As Dr. Altekar has described, the main functions of the Mahājanas were: The Mahājanas of the Karnāṭaka used to perform the functions of trustees and bankers, manage schools (temples), tanks and rest houses, raise subscriptions for public purposes, and pay village dues to the central government<sup>4</sup>. In fact, contributions and taxes were collected on occasions like the marriage or thread ceremony<sup>5</sup>, etc. The Mahājanas also helped towards the maintenance of the famous college at Salotgi. They were very influential in the king's courts.

The Mahājanas used to hold their meetings with the headman as President, either under a tree or in a local temple, or, as at Kadiyūr, in a Sabbhamaṇḍapa. Even a foreign traveller Sullaiman ḥisābī, that, "there existed popular courts in India in addition to

1. *E.I.* IV, p. 274.

2. *I.A.* XVIII, p. 273 ff. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 199.

3. *E.I.* XVIII, p. 195.

4. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

5. *I.A.* XII, p. 224.

the king's courts<sup>1</sup>. The jurisdiction of the Mahājānas was limited to petty criminal cases only. In other matters they had full freedom to treat all kinds of cases. However, there was the power of an appeal to the king.

The village revenues comprised (i) the Melvāram or Government share, and (ii) Cuḍivāra or the inhabitants' share<sup>2</sup>. The Government could not attach the latter. The Servamānyam indicated land entirely tax-free. The king used to consult the village representatives in important local matters affecting the village<sup>3</sup>.

## VII Justice

The judicial administration in Karnāṭaka had also reached a certain degree of perfection. Besides the king as the supreme ruler there were different kinds of judicial bodies in the state e.g. (i) the Chief Judicial tribunal, i.e. Dharmādhyakṣa or otherwise called Dharmādhyakṣaṅga; (ii) the Mahādandanāyaka or the chief of the Nāḍu, who also used to decide matters within his jurisdiction; (iii) the Guild-courts or what the Dharmasāstras termed as Śreni; and, finally, (iv) the headman, or the village assembly, in case there was an assembly in the village.

Krishna Rao is of opinion that "much of unnecessary litigation was avoided by the practice of Samyāsāna."<sup>4</sup> The decision in regard to the village disputes was given by the Senābova and it was final.

The higher courts (Nos. I and II) had the power to award capital punishment for murder. The following ordeals were in vogue: (1) ordeal by boiling water and by mounting the balance; (2) ordeal by heated metal: pala-divye; (3) ordeal by killing a snake in a jar; and (4) ordeal by the holding of the consecrated food in the presence of the village God, and others.

1. Maulvi Maheshprasad Sadhu, *Sulaiman Saḍagar*. p. 81.

2. E.I. XIII, p. 35, fn. 1,

3. E C. VIII, Sb, 132,

4. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

A certificate of victory (Jayapatra) was issued to the successful party.

### VIII Finance

A study of the problem of taxation and land tenures in the different periods of Karnāṭaka history is interesting. We find therein a gradual development of the various methods adopted by the state towards systematization. The periods of the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas and Rāyas of Vijayanagara are of special importance.

The following taxes were imposed in the various periods. (1) Under the Cālukyas the following taxes were current: Land Revenue, a family tax called Okkaldere,<sup>1</sup> taxes on the manure pit, oil-mills, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, pepper, saffron, women's cloth, cart-loads of paddy<sup>2</sup>, cart-tax<sup>3</sup>, oilmongers, weavers, artisans<sup>4</sup>, the partnership tax, the family tax on bullocks, herjjuṅka, Kodavisa, handura-haṇa<sup>5</sup>, and a tax on mirrors which was to be paid by the prostitutes.<sup>6</sup>

*Customs duties*:—The customs dues were the perjuṅka, vaḍḍarāvula, and the two bikeḍe<sup>7</sup>. These were charged on various commodities, e.g. areca-nuts<sup>8</sup>, drugs, spices, clothes, horses<sup>9</sup>, musk, saffron, yak-hair, pañcavarige, cus-cus grass<sup>10</sup>, etc.

In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period the main sources of income were: (a) Regular taxes: *Udranga*, *Uparikara* (the two being the same as *Bhāgabhogakara*: bhāga being land-tax and bhogakara being petty taxes on betel-leaves, fruits etc), *Bhūtaṣṭratyaya* (general excise and octroi duties, and manufacture of articles), or *Sulka* or *Siddhaya*, *Viṣṭi* (forced labour) and miscellaneous taxes

1. E.C. VII. Sk. 192; cf. Dinakar A. Desai, (MS)

2. E.C. VIII. Sb. 299,

3. E.C. XI, Ja, 9.

4. *S.I. Epigraphy*, 1919, No. B 267.

5. E.C. VII. Hl, 46.

6. E.C. VII. Sk. 295.

7. E.C. VII. Sk. 110 and, 192,

8. *S.I. Epigraphy*, 1915, Nos. 476, 480.

9. E.C. XI. Cd. 21.

10. *S.I. Epigraphy*, 1917. No. c 16.



*e.g.* on marriage and at the festivity of the attainment of puberty<sup>1</sup>, and a tax on men dying without a son or on those who have no sons. (b) Occasional taxations: *Cāṭabhaṭapṛāveśyadaṇḍa*, *Rājasevakā-nām vasatidaṇḍa* and emergency demand of the state. (c) Fines. (d) Income from government properties, seri of crown land, waste lands and trees, mines and salt, and treasure trove and property of the persons dying without heir. (e) Tributes from feudatories.

Besides the taxes mentioned above a list of many more were added during the Hoysaḷa regime<sup>2</sup>: "All kinds of goods, even firewood and straw were taxed, excepting glass-rings, brass-pots and soap-balls. The traders paid *mane-bāb*; *aṅgaḍi-gutta* was paid by the shop-keepers: the *āyagāra* and other officers accounted for one-third or one-eighth of the produce to the government; those who sold spirituous liquor paid *kallali*; the butchers were liable to the half-yearly tax called *kaśāyi-gutta*; washerman paid *ubbe-gutta*; those who smelted iron, *homla-gutta*, annually; the weavers and the manufacturers of cotton cloth paid *jakāyati*; *gāṇige-gutta* was the name given to the tax on oil-makers; *saṁayācāram*, that on the headman of each caste; *jāti-mānyam*, that paid by the Mādigas or Chucklers: the salt-makers had to pay *uppinamolla*; the cow-herds, *hullabanni* for feeding their flocks in the public pastures; *kāvali-gutta* was the name given to the tax which the Government got by letting out jungles; and those who were convicted of murder (?) (homicide ?) and executors were liable to the *jāyiri-gutta*."

The Rāyas of Vijanagara added to the list many minor items of income (cf. B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayana-gara Empire*).

*Expenditure*:—All these revenues were spent on various items, *e.g.* military department, personal expenses of the king and the members of the royal family, religious endowments, public works department, and all other items of expenditure, that a good government generally adopts.

1. *I.A.*, XIX, p. 145.

2. Cf. Saletore, *Social and Political I*  
I, pp. 148-149.

### Land Tenures

The epigraphical records of the period throw a flood of light on the system of land revenue.

The lands were divided according to the nature of the soil such as Makki (black soil), and for Kummari cultivation, etc. <sup>1</sup> Further, as Krishna Rao observes: "The epigraphical records make mention of three kinds of tenures under which the farmers held the land: (i) The *Sarvamānya*, a kind of gift wherein the government relinquished all rights. (ii) The *Tribhoga*, a joint tenure enjoyed by three distinct parties, e.g. a private person, god of the village, Brahmins and Talavittis. (iii) Then there is a mention of grants such as *Biṭṭukattu* (for certain tanks), *Kerekodege* and *Kaṭṭakodege* (for services for the upkeep of the tank), *Bal-Galuccu*, *Kalnād* or *sivane* (grants of land made to the family of the fallen heroes). Mention is made in several inscriptions of *Rakta Kodege* or *Nettara Kodege* (the same as *Bal-Galuccu*)."<sup>2</sup>

In the Vijayanagara period the following kinds of land tenures (which were rent-free) are mentioned: "paṇḍarivāḍai, jāvitaparru, adaipu, otti, guttigai, servai, and others."

*Taxation*:—Further, "the land taxation in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa times was very high. It was about twenty per cent including all the miscellaneous dues like the *Uparikara* or *Bhogakara*. It may be pointed out that Sher Shah and Akbar used to claim thirty-three percent of the gross produce from the peasant <sup>3</sup>, and the incidence of taxation in Vijayanagara Empire seems to have been still higher <sup>4</sup>."

The land revenue was collected both in kind and cash. There are instances to show that even instalments were given to

1. E.C. VIII. Sb. 35.31

2. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

3. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 76 ff.

4. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

the agriculturists for the payment of land revenue. In cases of emergency even remissions were made by the supreme authorities.

### Ownership in Land

The various inscriptions of the different periods of Karnāṭaka history show that the government did not claim any proprietary right in the lands of the realm (except in the case of their own private property). The Konnur inscription of Amoghavarṣa I<sup>1</sup>, and the Tirukkāyalur inscription<sup>2</sup> clearly prove, that it was generally the land and not revenue paid that was assigned to the donee. Further, as Dr. Altekar observes: "the fact that the king Kanna<sup>3</sup> should find it necessary to give only detached pieces of cultivable land situated in the different corners of the village shows that the state was not, and did not claim to be the proprietor of the entire land of the realm<sup>4</sup>". He even takes the support of the statements made by Jaimini, Śābara, Kātyāyana, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mādhava and Mitrāmīśra, and makes an observation in regard to Jagannātha, who disagrees with the above authors, that, "Jagannātha is a very late writer and his testimony is contradicted by the almost unanimous views of both earlier and later writers."<sup>5</sup>

### IX Art of Warfare

All the various inscriptions, the accounts of the foreigners, literature and the various reliefs of art have thrown light on the problem of the art of warfare in ancient Karnāṭaka. We have dealt with the topic of banners (Dhvajas) used by the various dynasties in the ancient and medieval periods (cf. Appendix II). In fact the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas, the Yādavas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara did possess mighty armies of all kinds. According to Ferishta the army of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara on the eve of the battle of Rakkasa-taṅgaḍgi consisted of 900,000 infantry, 45,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants and 15,000

1. E.I. VI, p. 29.

2. S. I. I. III pp. 104-6.

3. cf. J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 199.

4. Altekar, *op cit.*, p. 238.

5. (a). *Ibid.* pp. 238-39.

auxiliaries. <sup>1</sup> We have tried to deal only with the main problems in connection with this branch of study.

The Daṇḍanāyaka or the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka was appointed as the minister of warfare. There were other subordinates to work under him. The king used to lead the army whenever necessity arose. The remarkable exploits of generals like Bankeya, Cāmuṇḍarāya, and the vīragals spread throughout the country may throw light on the heroic spirit of the age.

The elephant, the camel (during the Vijayanagara period), the cavalry and the infantry formed the main divisions of the army

The early Kannaḍa kings seem to have possessed both the naval and land forces. Bharoach, Malpe and others seem to have acted as good sea-ports. The Cālukya king Maṅgalīśa is described to have conquered the Revatīdvīpa. Further Pulikeśi is said to have conquered Purī (which is probably Ghārāpurī or Elephanta) in the north of Southern India. The famous Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II describes the exploits of the mighty king on the Western coast. It is stated "When he, who resembled the destroyer of cities, was besieging that city, which was the goddess of the fortunes of the Western ocean, with hundreds of ships that had resemblance to elephants mad with passion, the sky, which was as blue as a newly opened lotus, and which, covered with masses of clouds became like the ocean, and the ocean was like the sky". <sup>2</sup>

*The following musical instruments among others were in vogue:* Pare (Hare), Bheri, Dundubhi, Kontevare, Habbare, Dhakka, Mrdanga, Damaṇi, Cambaka, Davude, Doḷu, Tambāṭa, Nissala (ṇa), Mavruriya, Kahaḷe, Kombu, Boggugahaḷa Heggale (Bugle), <sup>3</sup> etc.

*Weapons of Warfare:* Mr. Bettigeri has given in detail a list of the weapons used in the medieval period in Karnaṭaka:

1. Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 202.
2. *I.A.* VIII, 244.
3. Desai, *Ms.*

Dinkani, Marūl, Śataghni (perhaps gun), Peṭalu, Tāli, Bhalleya, Nejeyu, Kunta, Kanta, Sabaḷa, Itti, Heritti, Sīlukitti; swords: Kaigatti, Khaṇḍeya, Soratiya Katti, Bālagatti, Karājāri, Suragi Haisurige, Bāku, Kombugatti, Paṇḍidale, Hāvina Heḷige, Sura Nadedava; weapons made out of rope: pāsa, Bīsuvala, Jottige, Bīravagga, Kavaṇe, Gāḷa, Nūḷeni, weapons made out of tree: Berke, Bīrikoradu, Kaigudige, Oḷalugudige, Nelagumma, Mudgara, Musale, Kavegallu, Dasi (gota), Adduvalige, Ballole, Sārachundole, Tūgudole, Niccaṇike; weapons of stones: manegallu, Gundugallu, Dasugunḍa, Oḍḍugallu, Eṭṭugallu, Erugallu, Aregallu, Kavanegallu; and other weapons e. g. Billu, Ambu, Sūla, Aḍḍāyudha, Karegasu, Javadanḍe, Kaṭṭalike, Kodali, Gade, Kaṭṭāri, Hara, Tirugaṇi, Kīlāyudha, Gaṇḍaguttari, Guddale, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Further there were other varieties of fighting in vogue i. e. Sāmbaraṇa, Mallayuddha (dual-fighting), etc.

The following forts are mentioned as strong during the historical period: Erambarage (Raichur), Kurugodu, Hāṅgal (Virakoṭe), Gutti, Bellittige, Raṭṭapalli (or Raṭṭehalli), Soraṭur,<sup>2</sup> Banavāsi, Toregalla, Belgāme, Gokāge, Ucchaṅgi, Bādāmi, and Morkhiṇḍ.

The enlistment to the army was made from all the castes including the Brahmin community (especially as military officers).

## X Foreign Relations

We propose to deal with the problem of the international trade under 'Economic Condition'. Further all the Greek, Persian and Chinese travellers have described how the Hindu kings, in normal times, tried to keep amicable relations with the foreigners: the Persian ambassador from Khus'ros II received by Pulikeṣi; the account of the partial treatment given to Mahomedans by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs;<sup>3</sup> or the statement of 'Abdur Razzaq<sup>4</sup> regarding how he was welcomed with pomp and dignity; or the accounts of Floris and some Englishmen regarding the noble treatment given to them by Veṅkaṭapati Rāya in A.D. 1614. Further the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Nāyakas of Madura showed their nobility in making grants to the Mahomedan mosques or by allowing the followers of St. Francis Xavier or Fr. dé Nobili<sup>5</sup> to spread their

1. Bettigeri, *Karnāṭaka Janajivana*, p. 51. ff.

2. cf. also *I. A. XII*, 257.

3. Elliot, *History of India*, I, pp. 27-34.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

5. Heras, *Aravīḍu Dynasty, Intro.* p. XIV.

own cult on the western coast of India. The instance of the recruitment of Mahomedans in service is well-known.

## APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

### I Numismatics

A study of the coinage of the various dynasties which ruled over Karnāṭaka is interesting, but always possessed of super-abundant difficulties. However, it shows the variety of methods which were adopted in different periods of history only to culminate in the more perfect matrix form in the Vijayangara period. We are detailing here in a tabular form how the system of coinage developed in Karnāṭaka. (cf. also Economic Condition: Coinage).

#### DYNASTIES & KINGS

Coins found in the primitive tombs of the Kistavans of Southern India.

#### COINS (THEIR NATURE)

Generally silver coins available. They are called Purāṇas or Eldlings. Shape: oblong, angular, square, or nearly round with punch-marks on one or both sides. The symbols cannot be deciphered.

#### (1) Sātavāhanas and Cuṭus

Possess Northern characteristics. Generally cast in moulds with Buddhist symbols. The obverse bear figures of a lion, or horse, or elephant & the reverse Buddhist cross or wheel to which the name of Ujjain symbol is given. The coins of the Kolhāpur branch bear the symbols of bow and arrow in place of the Ujjain symbol.

#### (2) Kadambas

**The Padmatankas**—with a lotus in the centre round which are four punch-marks of smaller *padmas*.

#### (3) Early Cālukyas

Earliest specimen - probably Maṅgalīśa. Imitation of the above.

(4) Later Cālukyas— Some of these bear the figure of a Jagadekamella and Cālukya- Boar with the king's name punched candra round about at the circumference. Generally cup-shaped. Use of the double-die brought into vogue.

(5) Yādavas The above double-die system continued.<sup>1</sup>

(6) Hoysajas They were productions of a pure die. Elliot remarks that their cognizance appears to have been a bull couchant, which is seen on several of the seals.<sup>2</sup> There are also some coins of this dynasty in which the figures of a lion are found in and round the centre.<sup>3</sup>

(7) Vijayanagara Period The matrix system instead of the punch-marked system comes into vogue. "A uniform weight-standard of the pagodas was introduced, the shape and metallic value of the different coins were fixed, and the coinage in general was sub-divided into several denominations".<sup>4</sup>

*1st Dynasty :*

Harihara

(1) Hanumān ( Hanumān Varāyi Varāha)

(2) Garuḍa

Bukka I

Hanumān

*2nd Dynasty :*

Harihara II

(1) Umāmaheśvara, (2) Laksmī-Nārāyaṇa, (3) Saraswatī-Brahmā, and (4) the Bull.

Bukka II

Bull

1. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXIX (1925), pp. 6 ff.

2. Elliot, Nos. 90-91, pl. III.

3. Ayyangar, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, I.

4. Panchamukhi, *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, pp. 108-109.

Devarāya I	(1) Umāmaheśvara (2) Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and (3) Bull
Rāmacandra	Elephant
Vijayarāya I	Bull
Devarāya II	(1) Elephant, (2) Elephant, and King fighting, and (3) Umāmaheśvara
Vijayarāya II	Elephant
Mallikārjuna	Elephant

## II The Royal Heraldry (Lāñcchanas)

A complete study of the problem of the Lāñcchanas of the various dynasties that ruled over Karnāṭaka is of absorbing interest. The seals on the various copper-plate grants, the stone inscriptions, coins and other evidences give us full information about the Royal Lāñcchanas and Dhvajās of the different dynasties.

(Note : Sometimes the Motif on the banner (Dhvaja) and the Lāñcchana of a particular dynasty are different; but in the case of others the motif of both the Lāñcchana and the banner is the same).

Name of the Dynasty or King	Lāñcchana	Dhvaja
Kodagus		Vanara (monkey)
Sātavāhanas	Ujjain Symbol, the Bow and the Arrow. There is a great controversy on this point (cf. <i>Numismatics</i> , above).	[ according to Pampa ]
Cuṭu Sātakarṇis	Hill-mark and Tree within rail (cf. <i>Numismatics</i> )	
Gaṅgas of Talkād	Elephant.	
Kadambas	Lion	Hanumān
Cālukyas of Bādāmi	Boar (Varāha) (and sometimes other minor symbols, e. g. Sun, Moon, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, etc., )	Pālidhvaja



*Note:* The Insignia of the Cālukyas might be summarized as follows "the white umbrella (Śvetātāpatra), the conchshell (Śaṅkha), sounds of the five great musical instruments (Naubata or Pañcamahāśabda), the Pālidhvaja, double-drum (Dhakkā), the boar-badge (Varāha-Lāñcchana), the peacock fan (Mayūra-piñca) since Kārttikeya was the special object of their reverence, the spear (Kunta) of Kārttikeya, the throne (Simhāsana), the makaratorana (probably as ornamentals), the Vāhana of Gaṅgā, the golden Sceptre (Kāṇākadanda), the Gaṅgā and Yamunā."

Vikramāditya VI (an exception)	Lion	
Viṣṇuvardhana I	Lion	
Guttas of Guttal	Lion (Mrgarāja- Lāñcchana)	Vaḷa and Garuda Dhvaja.

Hoysajas                      Tiger or Elephant.

*Note:* General Pearse found a golden coin of the Hoysaḷas which bears the figures of two lions both facing, what he calls, an altar or stambha. It is just like the one obtaining in the 'Further Excavations of Mohenjo-Daro'.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas	Garuda	
Kalacuryas	Damaruka	Vrsabhadhvaja

Raṭṭas of Saundatti	Sindūr	Suvarṇa Garudadhvaja
Sindas of Erambarage	Tiger and Nāga (the latter of the Bagalkoṭ family)	Nagadhvaja
Yādavas of Seuṇādesa (Devagiri)	Hanumān (the problem not yet solved)	Suvarṇa-Garu- dhvaja

Rāyas of Vijayanagara              Boar, Elephant, Durgī etc. (cf. also 'Coinage' which details the various devices used by the Rāyas)

## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC CONDITION

**Karnāṭaka, India, China and Western World—Exports and Imports—Prosperous Karnāṭaka—Coins, Weights and measures—Guilds.**

A marvellous workmanship in the field of art and architecture, a sound system of administration, a net-work of educational centres spread through every nook and corner, and a perfection reached in every department of life—all these elements would not have been imbibed by Karnāṭaka as a nation provided there were to be an absence of a strong economic foundation. In fact, Karnāṭaka had a perfect guild organisation, a separate chapter on coins, weights and measures, and it possessed all that was necessary to make her people happy through the last hundreds of years. Here we have decided to give a brief survey of the main problems in regard to the economic life of the people.

#### I Karnataka, India, China and Western World

There was a close commercial contact between Karnāṭaka, the other parts of India, the empires and cities of Rome and Greece, and China. The main trade routes between the southern and northern India were three: (1) through the western coast—the story of the Bhārgavas at Māhiṣmatī elucidates this; (2) through the Vindhya mountains—cf. the story of Agastya's crossing the Vindhya; and (3) through the eastern direction of India. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has summarized the position in early India thus: "Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayanti or Banavāsi, and Sorpāraka or Supara, are recorded in the cave at Kārli; of a Nāsik merchant at Junnar; of natives of northern India and Dattāmitri, situated in lower Sindh; at Nāsik; and of an oil-monger of Karahāṭaka or Karhād at Kudem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nāsik and Karhād are recorded on the

stūpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jubbulpur and Allahabad."<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the contact between Karnāṭaka and the Indus Valley people, we have already observed in the first chapter how the latter were indebted to Karnāṭaka for the various commodities.

Karnāṭaka seems to have had commercial dealings even with China, because a brass coin of the Chinese Emperor Han-wa-hi was obtained at Chitaldrug.<sup>2</sup>

The commercial intercourse between the West and southern India was of a very ancient date. Herodotus (484-425 B. C.) describes that Pandyon, the King of Madura, arrived to the continent from Crete and settled himself at Athens.<sup>3</sup> He describes these people as Termilai. The recent excavations carried on by Prof. Kundangar and his colleagues at Brahmapuri in the Kolhāpūr State, reveal a close connection between these people, the Greek occupants at Taxila, and those at Arikemedu, near Pondicherry. The Greek farce found at Oxyrhyncus clearly exhibits the knowledge the Greeks possessed in regard to Mālpe and its surrounding province. It is very striking that Ptolemy makes a mention of Brakhmanoi Magoi-the expression Magoi being the equivalent of the Kannada word Magu (*cf. infra*). Numerous Roman coins are found in different localities in the south.<sup>4</sup> There also exists the Temple of Augustus at Muziris in the Cochin State. All these are remarkable indications of the close contact between the Greek and Roman merchants and the Indians.

Ptolemy calls the west coast as Pirate-coast-Ariake Andron Pireaton. He refers to the king who belonged to the dynasty of

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 76.

2. *Q. J. M. S.* X, p. 251.

3. *Herodotus*, I, 173; VII, 92; I, 173.

4. *eg.* at Chandravalli, Madura Dist., Polachy, Karoor, Vellaloor, Ootacamund and Kannanur of the Coimbatore Dist., Cuddapah Dist, Nelur, Sholapur, and in the neighbourhood of the beryl mine in Coimbatore District. They are of gold, silver and copper. Cf. also *J. R. A. S.*, 1904.

Sadineis, who seems to be the same mentioned in the Periplus as the Sandanes of Kallien, who proved hostile to the Greeks. <sup>1</sup>

Ptolemy even expresses that, if the Greek vessels entered the coast even accidentally they were seized and sent under guard to Barygaza, the seat of authority. <sup>2</sup> There seems to have been direct routes between Nineveh and Babylon; Pāṭaliputra, Egypt and Arabia, China and the Deccan and Cylon.

The famous Egyptian traveller Ptolemy, the unknown author of the Periplus and other Greek, Arabian and Chinese travellers have left behind them wonderful accounts regarding the geographical and economic conditions existing in ancient Kārṇāṭaka and other provinces. We propose to deal here with the main results arrived at by Ptolemy and the Periplus briefly. The references made by other authors shall be mentioned on other occasions.

Ptolemy <sup>3</sup> refers to the following towns and ports in South India. Many of the identifications are our own.

Adarima	Adri (Veṅkaṭādri)	118°	15° 20'
Aloe	Ālūr	119°	16° 20'
Arembour	Erambarege or Raichur	120°	16° 20'
Arouraioi	Āryapura or Aihole		
Badiamaioi	Bādāmi (Their capital Tathilba?)		
Baithana	Paṭhāṇa (The royal seat of (Siro) Ptolemaios or Polemaios)	117°	18° 30'
Banousei (Also Byzantion)	Banavāsi Vaijayanta or Banavāsi	116°	16° 45'
Bardaxema (a town)	Bārdeśa (Goa)	113° 40'	19° 40'
Benda	Bhīmā	119°	16° 20'
Brakhmanai Magoi (Also Brakhme)	Brahmapurī-Kolhapur State	128°	19°

1. cf. *Supra*, p. 28.

2. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 39.

3. Surendranath Majumdar, *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Matter culled out from the whole work).

Benagouron	Veṇugrāma or Belgaum	114°	10° 15'
Bramagara	Brahmagiri ( Mysore State )	116° 45'	14° 20'
Deopali or Deopala	Deogaḍh	115° 40'	17° 50'
Gambaliba	Gomāntaka (Goa)	115° 15'	17°
Goaris	Godāvarī		
Hippokoura (Royal Seat of Baleo- kouros)	Kolhāpūr	119° 45'	19° 10'
Inde	Indī	123°	20° 45'
Kalikāt	Kalicāt		
Kallada	Kalāḍgi		
Kalligeris	Kaṇhgir-Hyderabad State	118°	18°
Kandaloi	Kuntala (Yule)		
Khaberos (Mouth)	Kāverī	129°	15° 15'
Konba	Koṇṇur	117°	15°
Koreour	Karnāṭaka or Kannaḍa	120°	15°
Kourellour	Karle	120° 30'	18° 40'
Maganur	Mangalore or Mangga- rout of Kosmos Indi- copleustes or Manda- gora of Periplus		
Malippala	Malpe	119° 30'	20° 15'
Mandalai	Zāda-maṇḍala or Berar	15° 10'	
Modogoulla	Mudgal ( Hyderabad State )	119°	18°
Monoglossen (a mart)	Cf. Maganur	114° 10'	18° 40'
		115° 30'	15° 45'
Mouziris	Yule: Muyiri on Mala- bar coast	117°	14°
Morounda	Mulgunda (Dharwar Dist) or Morkhind (Naṣik Dist)	120° 21'	14° 20'

Nagarouris or Nagarouriaris	Nāgarkhaṇḍa	120°	20° 15'
Namados (Source in Ouindion Range)	Narmadā (Vindhya)	127°	26° 30'
Nasik	Nāsik	114°	17°
Nausaripa	Nausāri	112° 30'	16° 30'
Nitra (a Mart)	On Netravatī (R)	115° 30'	14° 40'
Olokhoira	Ālvakheda	114°	15°
Omenagara	Khambayat or Skambha- nagara	114°	16° 20'
Pantipolis	Yule: Pāṇdavapura, Pantipura or Hangal	118°	15° 29'
Pasage	Palāsgi or Halsi	124° 50'	19° 15'
Petirgala	Paṭṭadkal	117° 45'	17° 15'
Poudoperoura	Indicopleustes: Pondo- patana. Podanpur or Bodhanapur or Yodha- nipura		
Pounnata (Where is Beryl)	Punnāṭa or Punnād	121° 20'	17° 30'
Sarisabis	Sarvajñapura	119° 30'	20°
Semne	Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa	118°	14° 20'
Sirimllaga	Śrī-mallikārajuna or Śrtsāila	119° 20'	18° 30'
Soubautton	Saundatti or Sugandha- varti (Belgaum Dist)	119° 45'	19° 10'
Soupara	Supara		
Tagara	Tegūr (13 miles from Dharwar)	118°	19° 20'
Tabaso	Siddāpūr	120° 30'	20° 40'
Tiripangalida	Triparvata	220° 15'	19° 40'

The Periplus <sup>1</sup> mentions the following ports and towns on the western coast:—

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1. *Ibid.*

Barygaza, Alaburon, Souppara, Kallien, Semilla, Mandagora, Palaipatmai, Melizeigara, Byganton, Toparon, Tyrannosboas, 3 separate groups of islands. Khersonesos, Island of Lenke, Naoura, Tyndis, Muziris, Nelkynda, Bakare, Mous Pyrrhos, Balita and Komar.

## II Exports and Imports

As has been rightly observed by Mr. Srikantaya: "The trade between South India and the Roman Empire was extensive in the first and the second century A. D. It first started in the luxuries of life (e. g. pepper, spices, fine muslin, perfumes, unguents, pearls, precious stones) and later extended to cotton and industrial products. The discovery of the monsoon helped its expansion. It was largest from the time of Augustus to Nero (A. D. 68) ...It was checked and perhaps temporarily stopped by Caracalles' massacre of the people of Alexandria in A. D. 215. Under the Byzantines, the trade was with South-west India, i. e. Travancore and South-west coast, and commerce with the Deccan and the interior declined.....In the Flavian period there was extensive trade with the Malabar Coast." <sup>1</sup> We have already noted above that there must have been a commercial intercourse between India and China also. We shall now deal with the problem of trade in Karnāṭaka.

The following products were exported from Karnāṭaka:

(1) **Cotton**—Karnāṭaka has always been a cotton growing country. Therefore, the remarks made in the *Periplus*, <sup>2</sup>, and by Marco Polo <sup>3</sup> and Tavernier, <sup>4</sup>, that cotton and cloth were exported through Bharoach might equally apply to this country.

(2) **Indigo**—It was exported in 'large quantities' through Gujarat and Thāṇā both in the 13th and 17th centuries A. D. <sup>5</sup>

(3) **Incense and perfumes** were exported through Saimur and Thāṇā. <sup>6</sup> Further we agree with Dr. Altekar when he observes that, grains like jwāri, bājari-sajjige in Kannaḍa, oil-seeds, from the upper country; cocoanuts, betel-nuts and rice from Koṅkaṇ and

1. Q. J. M. S. XVIII, 294 ff.

2. Schoff, *Periplus*., p. 39. 3. Marco Polo, II, p. 393.

4. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, p. 52.

5. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 160; Marco Polo, II, pp. 393 - 398.

6. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 87; Marco Polo, II, p. 393.

sandal, teak and ebony from the Western Ghāts and Mysore, must have also been the articles of export then. <sup>1</sup>

(4) **Mettalurgical Products**—The Periplus <sup>2</sup> mentions that copper formed one of the chief exports through Bharoach. The traces of more or less extensive workings of copper mines have been discovered in the districts of Cuddappah, Bellary, Chanda, Budhan, Narasapur, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Dharwar. <sup>3</sup> Some of them were also in a working order in the time of Hyder Ali.

(5) **Precious Stones**—There were diamond factories at Cuddappah, Bellary, Karme and the Kṛṣṇā Valley near Golconda (Marco Polo, <sup>4</sup> Ibn Batuta <sup>5</sup> and Tavernier <sup>6</sup>). Besides this, Devagiri (Ibn Batuta), Lökkigunḍi (Lakkunḍi), Hampi, Aihole, Halebid, Kalyāṇi, Malkheḍ must have acted as important markets for the dealings in jewelry. Especially Aihole <sup>7</sup> is described to have been, dealing in large sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds lapis-lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, corals, emeralds and other articles. King Someśvara himself is said to have been dealing in pearls and stones. <sup>8</sup>

(6) **Tanning Industry**—Karnāṭaka must have also exported leather and products of mat industry.

(7) The Gaṅgavāḍi (32,000) is always well-known for elephants.

**Imports**—Elephants were imported by the Kannada kings from Gauḍiyeśa. <sup>9</sup> Further an inscription dated 1188 A. D., informs us that Chattī Śeṭṭi, a rich merchant of Arasikere, was importing horses, pearls and elephants in ships by sea and selling the same to kings. <sup>10</sup> The horses from Sind, Arabia and Kāmbhoja were famous. The embassy sent by king Kho'sros to Pulikeśin II seems to have been in connection with the trade of horses. <sup>11</sup> According to the Periplus

1. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭās and their Times*, pp. 354-5.

2. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

3. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

4. Marco Polo, II, p. 360.

5. Gibbs, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 217.

6. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, p. 319.

7. E. C. VII. sk. 188,

8. *Mānasollasa*, Vs. 362, 510.

9. I. A., V, p. 48.

10. E. C. V, Ak. 22.

11. Gode, 'References to Persian Horses', *Poona Orientalist*, XI, p. 9.



the following articles were imported in its time: inferior pearls from the Persian Gulf, dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine, but in small quantity, copper, tin, lead, topaz, storax, sweet cloves, flint-glass, antimony, gold and silver coins, and singing boys and girls for kings"<sup>1</sup>. Further, according to Marco Polo, gold, silver and copper used to be imported through Thānā.<sup>2</sup> Some of the inscriptions give a more graphic description in this connection. It is said, 'Tippa imported camphor trees from the Punjab; golden spouts (Bangasmolaka) from Jalanogi; elephants from Simhala; horses from Hurumañji (Ormuz or Persia); essence of civet (saṅkumada) from Gova (Goa); pearls from Āpagā; musk from Chotangi and silk clothes from China.'<sup>3</sup> Another inscription reads: 'Having been selected as his emissaries, the elephants of Gauḷa, the horses of Turuṣka, the pearls of the excelled lord of Simhala, the fine raiment of Coḷa, the musk of Magadha, the sandalwood of the lords of Malaya, and the young damsels of Lāla (Lāṭa), used to proclaim the commands of the lord Saṅkamadeva in public assemblies.'<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that Barbosa describes the commodities from Pulicat: copper, quick-silver, vermilion, Cambayn wares, dyes in grain (Meca velvets) and especially rose-water.<sup>5</sup>

### III The Prosperous Karnataka

Various inscriptions, the accounts of foreigners, and the literature of the period speak of the prosperous condition of Karnāṭaka during the period of her independent rule. The principle ports during the historical period were: (1) Bharoach, which used to export and receive goods coming from China, Sindh and Persian Gulf;<sup>6</sup> (2) *Kalyāṇ*: Cosmos Indicopleustes describes it as 'one of the five important ports trading in cloth, brass and black-wood logs. Further Navsāri, Sopara, Thana, Saimur, Dhabhol, Jaygad, Deogad and Malvan were the other minor ports.'<sup>7</sup> During the time of the Kadambas Gopakapaṭṭaṇa was an important trading centre. Further, Abdur Razzaq states that, 'in the Vijayanagara times there were 300 seaports, everyone of which is

1. Schoff, *op cit.*, pp. 40-42.

2. *Marco Polo* II, p. 395.

3. *E. I.* VIII, p. 12.

4. *I. A.* V, pp. 48-49.

5. Saletore, *op. cit.*, I. p. 79.

6. Elliot, *op cit.*, II, p. 87.

7. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

equal to Kalikot ( Calicut ).' All the following capitals of the various dynasties ruling in Kārṇāṭaka must have formed rich trading centres i. e. Bādāmi, Banavāsī, Halebīḍ, Devagiri, Kalyāṇi, Veṅgi, and Hampe. Further the following formed the other centres: Aihole, Arasikere or southern Gopakapaṭṭaṇa, Lokkigundi, Somanāthapur Sugandhavarti; and the 'good-sized cities' enumerated by Barbosa: Mergen ( Mirjān ), Honor ( Honnāvūru ), Baticala ( Bhaṭkal ), Bracelorel ( Basrūr ), Mangalor ( Mangalore ), Cumbola ( Kumbḷa ).<sup>1</sup>

Thus "cotton yarn and cloth, both rough and fine, muslim, hides, mats, indigo, incense, perfumes, betel-nuts, cocoanuts, sandal and teak-wood, sesam-oil and ivory" were the main products of the country. Whereas the village centres were flooded with rich gardens and orchards, the towns on the other hand were busy with the buzz of the merchants from the east and the west. To quote an instance, the capital ( Gopakapaṭṭaṇa ) was the resort of traders hailing from, distant countries such as Pandiat, Kerala, Canda, Garda, Bangala, Gurger, Laṭṭa, Puṣṭa, Srytan, Chendrapur, Sourāsva, Ladda, Koṅkaṇ, Veimulie, Sangameśvar, Cippalons, Shivapur, Pindianna, Vallapatam, Sinuhalle, Callah and Zangavar."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. B. A. Saletores has quoted passages from the works of Sarvajña and gleanings from the accounts of Paes and other foreign travellers. Here is the description of Domingo Paes, who was in the city of Vijayanagara in A. D. 1520: "Now to tell of the aforesaid kingdom (of Vijayanagara). It is a country sparsely wooded except along this serra on the east (i. e., of the west of the territory of Vijayanagara), but in places you walk for two or three leagues under groves of trees; and behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes and jack-fruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting-places where merchants halt with their merchandise...These domains are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and in this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains,

1. B. A. Saletores, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara Empire*, I, p. 70.

2. Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 284.

beans and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton.”<sup>1</sup>

**Roads and Transport:** Though the author of the *Periplus*<sup>2</sup> and Tavernier<sup>3</sup> complain about the non-existence of good roads through the whole of the Deccan, still, we might observe that the main trunk roads in Karnāṭaka itself were smooth and in strict repairs. An inscription<sup>4</sup> speaks of a trunk-road running from Terdāl in the Sangli State to Hāngal in the Dharwar District. The main means of transport were bullock-carts, (as ‘Al-Idrisi would have it: ‘chariots drawn by oxen’); or as Barbosa<sup>5</sup> would state (in the Vijayanagara times), “And they carry their goods by means of buffaloes, oxen, asses and ponies and do their field work with these.” There were other conveyances e. g. palanquins, elephants, camels, bulls, horses and carriages.<sup>6</sup>

**Food and Drink:** Without going into the details of the problem we might mention a few names of the sweet-meats that the people used to enjoy: *hoḷige*, *laḍḍu* or *uṇḍe*, *seekaraṇe*, etc. People also seem to have given themselves to exorbitant habits of meat-eating, drinking, etc., as the item of imports may prove it.

#### IV Coins, Weights and Measures

**Coins:** As Dr. Altekar observes, ‘Dramma, Suvarṇa, Gaddyāṇaka, Kaḷañju and Kāsu are the principle coins mentioned in the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.’<sup>7</sup> In these periods the following names of coins also are available i. e. Visa, Arevisa,<sup>8</sup> Haga, Paṇa,<sup>9</sup> Honnu and Kāgiṇi,<sup>10</sup> Bele, Dharāṇa,<sup>11</sup> and Māyaḍi and Akkam. There were

1. B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, I, p. 43.

2. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

3. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, I. chap II.

4. I. A. XIV, p. 24.

5. Barbosa, *Stanley*, p. 85.

6. cf. also Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 255.

7. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

8. E. C. VII, Sk. 118.

9. *Ibid.*

10. J. B. B. R. A. S, XI, p. 259.

11. *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, p. 105.

gold, silver and copper coins during the period under survey. The coin of Gadyānaka was equal to two Kaḷañjus and this weighed about 90 grains. It was a gold coin equal to the modern eight anna piece. Seven Kaḷañjus were equal to the modern eight anna piece. Seven Kaḷañjus were equal to 20 Kāsus. A Kāsu thus weighed about 15 grains of gold. <sup>1</sup> Mr. Panchamukhi has described in detail the weight of the golden Gadyānaka during the different historical periods. <sup>2</sup> Dr. Altekar gives a table <sup>3</sup> as further elucidation of the subject regarding the values of various coins:

Name.	Metal	Approximate weight	Approximate present value
1 Drama	silver	65 grains or 1/3 tola	about 6 as.
2 Drama	gold	"	" Rs. 7
3 Kaḷañju	"	48 grains or 1/4 tola	" Rs. 5
4 Gadyānaka	"	96 grains or 1/2 tola	" Rs. 10
5 Kāsu	"	15 grains	" Rs. 1-10 As.
6 Mañjāḍi	"	2 1/2 grains	" 4 as.
7 Akkam	"	1 1/4 grains	" 2 as.

The value of other coins may be illustrated thus: Honnu = two rupees; visa = 1/4 of an anna; <sup>4</sup> Kāgiṇi (Kākini) = 40 cowries of a pana; Bele = 1/2 of an anna; and Arevisa = 1/2 of a Visa.

Prices of Metals: It is rather difficult to ascertain the relative ratio of metals separately, during the different periods of Karnāṭaka history. However, we may agree with Dr. Altekar when he says, 'Since the time of the Nāsik Cave inscription <sup>5</sup> No. 12 (2nd Cen. A. D.) down to the time of Tavernier <sup>6</sup> (17th Cen.) the relative prices of these two metals were fairly constant e.g. 1:15. The ratio before the recent rise in the price of gold was about 1:30; <sup>7</sup> copper was five times costlier than now in the 17th century. <sup>8</sup>

Measures: (1) Grains: The following grain measures are mentioned in the inscriptions: <sup>9</sup> Maṇa, Balla, Sollige, Hadaru, Koḷaga (Jakki and Dharma), Khaṇḍuga and Paḍi (a small measure). Dr. Altekar <sup>10</sup> gives the following table of measures:

1. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
2. *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, pp. 105 ff.
3. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
4. J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 258-9.
5. *Carmichael Lectures* 1921, p. 191.
6. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 13.
7. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
8. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 147.
9. J. B. B. R. A. S. (O. S.), X, p. 238; S. I. *Epigraphy*, 1914, p. 16.
- No. 133; *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1928, pp. 35 etc; *Ibid*, 1927, p. 133.
10. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

<i>Old Names</i>	<i>Old Names</i>	<i>Equivalents in lbs. or tolas</i>	<i>Probable equivalents in our time</i>
5 Śevudu	1 Ārakku	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ tolas	These measures were either of the same capacity or perhaps 16 per cent bigger in each case in the district of Tanjore.
2 Ārakku	1 Urakku	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ tolas	
2 Urakku	1 Uṟi	15 tolas	
2 Uri	1 Nari or Padi	$\frac{3}{4}$ lb.	
8 Nāri	1 Kuruṇi or Marakkal	6 lbs.	
2 Kuruni	1 Padakku	12 lbs.	
2 Padakku	1 Tūṇi	24 lbs.	
3 Tūṇi	1 Kaḷam	72 lbs.	

**Land Measures:** The following land measures were current : Nivartana <sup>1</sup> (equal to 200 sq. cubits), Kamma or Kamba, <sup>2</sup> and Mattar (equal to 100 Kammas).

**Measuring Poles:** The following were important : Kaccave, <sup>3</sup> Agradimba, Maru, <sup>4</sup> Bherunda <sup>5</sup> and Kurdi; <sup>6</sup> and in the Vijayanagara times, Rājavibhaṇḍan Kōḷ and Gaṇḍara Gaṇḍan Kōḷ.

### V Some other Aspects

**Irrigation and Land:** The whole country was welded with tanks and canals (especially in the Vijayanagara Empire). The Rayatwāri and the Mirāsī tenures were in vogue. The farming system seems to have fully come into existence in the Vijayanagara times. Moreover, the 'zamindar class to whom were assigned the royal revenues' also existed. Further as Dr. Altekar observes, 'the mention of the Grāmapati along with Grāmakūta in some of the records shows that the former was a village holder'. <sup>7</sup> However, lands were leased out on the proportion of two to one <sup>8</sup> (probably the one-third share was to remain with the agriculturist). Even whole lands and estates were sometimes leased out on a farming system. <sup>9</sup> Consent of the village Assembly was necessary for the sale of any particular piece of land. But the system was fast losing its vogue. Further, "if a village or land ~~was owned by~~

1. J. B. B. R. A. S. (O. S.) X, 199.
2. E. C. VII, Sk. 14; Rice, *Mysore Inscr*
3. I. A. IV, p. 279.
4. E. I. XII, p. 32.
5. E. C. VI
6. Altekar,
7. S. I. I, III, No. 10.
8. E. I. XI
- 9.

several co-sharers, no new owner could be introduced except with the consent of the whole body".<sup>1</sup> All the artisans of the village, carpenters, barbers etc., were assigned a certain grain share from each farmer, for their maintenance and return of labour.<sup>2</sup> The government revenue was collected both in kind and cash.

**Cost of Living:** We need not go into details in regard to the prices of the various articles including grains and other necessities of life. However, the cost of living then seems to have been much lower than what it is now. Dr. Pran Nath,<sup>3</sup> mainly depending upon the Sanci inscription of Candragupta (5th Cen. A. D.) and the Ukkal inscription<sup>4</sup> (10th Cen. A. D.) arrived at the conclusion that the cost of living in the 10th Cen. A. D. was 725 per cent higher than what it was in the Gupta period. But Dr. Altekar<sup>5</sup> has rightly refuted the point by showing the discrepancy in the mode of argument of Dr. Pran Nath viz. in identifying the *Dināra* of the Gupta inscription with *Kaṣāñju* of the other. Further he has proved beyond doubt that the capital outlay for an ordinary meal in the 10th Cent. A. D. was only eight *Dināras* or twenty *Kaṣāñjus*.<sup>6</sup> It should also be noted in this connection that the rates of wages during the historical times seem to have been absolutely decent.

## VI Guilds

The most marvellous fabric of the socio-economic organization in Karnāṭaka can be said to be its net-work of guilds. If Karnāṭaka can claim a high antiquity, a definite political history from the time of the Sātiyaputtas or Sātakarnis, and also a continuous growth in all the departments of culture, then we shall have to say that it must have maintained this organization since very early times. The guilds used to regulate trade and industry, train apprentices, and do the banking business, not only for their members but also for the public.<sup>7</sup> The guilds were of two kinds, namely, (1) Craft and (2) Merchant guilds. The craft-guilds were formed of various professions. The

1. *E. I.* XI, p. 192.

2. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 363.

3. Pran Nath, *A Study in Ancient Indian Economics*, p. 102.

4. *S. I. I.*, III, No. 1.

5. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 387 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

merchant-guilds were formed mainly of the Virabāṇajigas<sup>1</sup> and also of the community of merchants from various provincial centres (Nānādeśis). In fact it is stated in an inscription that, the merchantile community of Heñjeru in the Anantpur District was made up of men drawn from all the provinces of Dravidian India, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kanāṇḍa and Malayāḷa.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the one at Veṇugrāme consisted of merchants from Gujarat and Kēraḷa.<sup>3</sup> The guilds of Aihole, Miraj and other centres belonged to the Virabāṇajiga community.

(1) **Craft-Guilds**: These were located in various places i.e. Lakṣmeśvar, Muḷgund, Belgāme, Kolhāpūr and other places. Generally every profession had had its own guild. In fact there were guilds of betel-leaf sellers, *areca*-nuts, *oil*-mongers, palanquin bearers, cultivators,<sup>4</sup> stone-cutters, braziers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, weavers, potters, fruit-sellers, clothiers,<sup>5</sup> milk-men, toddy-drawers, basket-makers, mat-workers,<sup>6</sup> flower-sellers,<sup>7</sup> washermen<sup>8</sup>, cotton-dealers, jewellers, and perfumers<sup>9</sup>.

(2) **Merchant-Guilds**: The famous centres of these guilds were Dharmavollāḷu (Dambaḷ, Dharwar District), Ayyavoḷe (modern Aihole), and in the Vijayanagara times, Vijayanagara, Hastināvati Dorasamudra, Udayagiri, Candragiri, Anṇigere, Hānugal, Maṅgālūru, Halasige and about twenty-five more<sup>10</sup>. The community of the Virabāṇajus play a prominent part in these. The functions carried on by these guilds are very well explained in an inscription dated A.D. 1150<sup>11</sup>: "(The Baṇajigas) after visiting the Čera, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Malaya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāṣṭra, Dhanurāṣṭra, Kurūmbha, Kāmbhoja, Gaulla, Lāṭa, Barbhara, Parasa, Nēpāla, Ekapāda, Lambakarna, Strirājya, Ghoṭāmukha and many other centres .....; with superior elephants, well-bred horses, large sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds (Karkketaṇe), and various such articles, cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, malegaju and other perfumes and drugs, by selling which

1. One of the Liṅgāyat communities. The word is pronounced as Virabāṇajiga or Virabāṇaga, meaning a strict Baṇajiga, Balañja, Banañju or Baṇuñja or Baṇāñjiga.

2. *S. I. Epigraphy*, 1916-17, No c. 16. 3. *E. I.* XIII, p. 26.

4. *I. A. V.*, p. 345. 5. *Moraes, op cit.*, p. 285.

6. *E. I. V.*, p. 23. 7. *E. C. VII, Sk.* 118.

8. *Ibid.*, Sk. 11. 9. *E. C. V.*, p. 23.

10. *Saleore, op. cit.*, II, p. 104. 11. *Ibid.*, II, p. 99.

wholesale or hawking about on their shoulders, preventing the loss by customs duties, they fill up the emperor's treasury of gold, his treasury of jewels, and his armoury of weapons."

The extent of area over which these guilds exercised their jurisdiction was in many cases very wide. In fact the guilds at Muḷgund had a jurisdiction over 360 towns <sup>1</sup>. An inscription (1083 A. D.) at Belgāme <sup>2</sup> refers to a guild which had its offices in 18 towns. Further the famous guild of Aihole consisted of 505 Swāmis, the Nānādesis, the Setṭhis etc.

The constitution of these various guilds varied according to their profession and extent of work.

The guilds at Lakṣmeśvar had only one head, whereas the guild at Muḷgund had four. Further the guilds at Belgāme and Miraj had an executive of nine and fifteen respectively.

The head of the larger guilds was usually the Paṭṭanaśeṭṭi or Swāmi, who was also the town-mayor. He was many a time a Vadda-vyavahāri <sup>3</sup> (Senior merchant). Sometimes this office was conferred upon him by a Government servant. <sup>4</sup> He was a personality of great importance and influence in the Government. The guild of Makhara-parivari and Mumuri Daṇḍa offered the post to Muḍdayya Daṇḍanāyaka. <sup>5</sup> Besides the paṭṭanaśeṭṭi, we hear of another dignitary called the Mahā-Prabhu, especially in the Vijayanagara

The guilds used to hold general meetings and decide matters concerning their affairs. <sup>6</sup> They celebrated festivals, constructed temples, made endowments <sup>7</sup> and patronized scholarship. <sup>8</sup> They also arranged fairs. <sup>9</sup>

The guilds framed their own laws. In the case of craft-guilds the members had to discharge their functions in conjunction with the headman. <sup>10</sup> Those who did not obey the regulations were severely

1. J. B. B. R. A. S. (O. S.) X, p. 190.

2. E. C. VII sk. 118. 3. S. I. *Epigraphy*, 1919, No. 216, pp. 18 ff.

4. E. I. XIII, p. 26.

5. E. C. X, pp. 83, 154.

6. E. C. V, Bl. 75, p. 63.

7. E. C. I, Kl. 73, pp. 19-20.

8. I. A. X, p. 188.

9. E. I. V, p. 21.

10. E. C. VII, Sk. 118.

11. E. C. X, Bp. 72, p. 152.

12. J. B. B. R. A. S. (O. S.) X, p. 283.



dealt with. The guild at Aihole had the privilege of binding the enemy's hand as a badge on a pole and parade about.<sup>1</sup> The Vira-Pañcālas of Terakaṇambi had framed a regulation: Who-so-ever destroys this charter is put out of the Pañcālas, out of his trade, out of the assembly and the Nāḍ.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the guilds used to issue edicts. Beḷgāme had issued 500 edicts. The guild of Dambaḷ had its own chawries and umbrellas. The guilds at Beḷgāme, Kolhāpūr and Aihole had their own banners (Dhvajas). The flag of the Beḷgāme and Kolhāpūr guilds had the device of a flute, and the flag of the guild at Aihole was designated as *nirudda-guḍḍa*. Moreover the members of the Dambaḷ guild were also the 'Masters of Aihole.' Besides this, the guilds had their own militia (e.g. Aihole, Dambaḷ and Miraj), which fact is corroborated even by the accounts of Tavernier.<sup>3</sup>

The guilds also used to do banking business and look after the management of the various endowments made for charitable purposes. We need not, however, go into the details of the question of the rates of interest these guild-banks allowed during the different periods of Karnāṭaka history.

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1. E. C. VII, Sk. p. 106.

2. E. C. VI, Gd, 34, p. 42.

3. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 334.

## CHAPTER V

### SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

**Caste system — Family — Position of Women — Some other aspects of Social Structure — Education.**

. We have already traced the probable social history of the Kannada people in the pre-historic times. During that period the Dolichocephalic race seems to have been the main promoter of their cultural ideas. But later on it seems to have mixed itself with the Negroids of Africa and the Brachycephalic race of the Aryans. With the inter-mixture of races must have also taken place a peculiar growth of culture also. We have an exact knowledge about the social condition of the Kannadigas in the Mohenjo Daro period. And the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedic literature do point to a homogeneous culture of these people (cf. *infra* under Language). The Mahābhārata should really be the next document, which really reveals the picture of the non-Aryans in the post-Rgvedic period. The Vṛātyas seem to have been in predominance then. It is only since the Aśōkan period that we begin to get a definite account of the social position of the people. The recently discovered pottery, oil-lamps, ear-ring ornaments, pearls, burnt paddy and rye at Brahmapurī, near Kolhāpūr, should really add to our knowledge in this connection.

### I Caste System

The Greek and Muslim writers (Ibn Khurdaba and Al Idrisi) have stated that the number of castes in India is seven.<sup>1</sup> Alberuni enumerates a list of sixteen castes as existing in India in his time.<sup>2</sup> The Smṛtis of the period indicate the existence of many mixed castes (*miśra* or *saṃkara*) also. Kalhana states that the number of castes was sixty-four.<sup>3</sup> In our opinion, though the

1. Ibn Khurdaba—Sakufria, Brahma, Kataria, Sūdariyā, Baisurā, Sandālia and Lahūd (Elliot, *History of India*, I, pp. 16-17). Al Idrisi replaces Zakya for Lahūd.

2. Alberuni adds eight kinds of Antyajās after the first four main castes—the fuller or washerman, the shoe-maker, juggler, basket and shield-maker, sailor, fisherman, hunter and weaver; and adds four more—Hādī, Domba, Chandālia and Badhatau cf. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, pp. 319 ff.

3. Kalhana, *Rājataranginī*, V. 77.

writers of the Smṛtis tried to bring in all the communities (by styling them as mixed castes) in the fold of the Cāturvārṇya; yet all their efforts dwindled on account of the existence of the three religious systems by the side of Hinduism, namely, those of Buddhism, Jainism, and Vīraśaivism respectively.

**Brāhmins :** The Brāhmins in Karnāṭaka assumed an important position in the fabric of society. The Kadambas were Brāhmins. Later the Rājagurus of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara also included two of the eminent Brāhmin personages of the day, namely, Vidyāranya and Vyāsarāya. Besides, Brāhmins must have been appointed as ministers in the State. Alberuni states that Brāhmins were styled as Iṣṭins<sup>1</sup>; and that they were discharging their duties in the Agrahāras and other seats of learning. As Śaṅkarācārya<sup>2</sup> and Alberuni observe, the Brāhmins pursued professions and duties which were not intended for them originally. Even Brāhmin physicians were honoured equally.<sup>3</sup> The main privileges of the Brāhmins were the exemption from taxation, mainly in the case of Brahmāḍeya lands, and exemption from capital punishment, a fact which is corroborated by the accounts of Alberuni<sup>4</sup> and Bouchet.<sup>5</sup> Brāhmins were allowed to migrate from one province to another.

**Kṣatriyas :** Ibn Khurdaba and Al Idrisi state that 'the remaining classes pay homage to the Sabkataria.'<sup>6</sup> It was from this class that the rulers were selected. Tavernier makes a distinction between the Rajputs and other Kṣatriyas.<sup>7</sup> The Kṣatriyas used to perform sacrifices, studied and cited the Vedas and followed the religion preached in the Purāṇas (and not Vedas).<sup>8</sup> The ordinary Kṣatriyas followed other professions also. They were exempted from death-punishment.

Yuan Chwang states that in his time there were kings of whom three were Kṣatriyas, three Brāhmins, two Vaiśyas and two Śūdras.<sup>9</sup>

1. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 102.

2. *Com. Brahmasūtras*, I, 3, 33.

3. *I. A.* VIII, p. 277.

4. Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 162.

5. *J. R. A. S.* 1881, p. 227.

6. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 76.

7. *Tavernier, Travels in India*, pp. 387-88.

8. Sachau, *op. cit.*, II, p. 136; and Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

9. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

*Vaiśyas* : The *Vaiśyas* were fast losing their prominence as *Vaiśyas*. They were being already classed along with the *Śūdras*. The *Vaiśyas* also maintained their own militia.<sup>1</sup>

The *Śūdras* were divided into *Satsūdras* and *Asatsūdras*. The *Satsūdras* were entitled to the privileges of *Śrāddha*, *Saṃskāra* and *Pākayajñas*.<sup>2</sup>

As we have observed above, the Jains, Buddhists and *Vīraśaivas* formed a class by themselves, even as apart from the *Cāturvarṇya*.

## II Family

The joint-family system prevailed in *Karnāṭaka*. We, however, find instances of separation between brothers,<sup>3</sup> and between father, sons and brothers respectively.<sup>4</sup> The wife was the chief mistress of the house. She was to be faithful to her husband. She enjoyed a very high position in society (cf. *infra*). An instance is given in a *Raṭṭa* inscription as to how women ministered poisonous herbs with a view to bringing their husbands under control.<sup>5</sup>

*Succession* : We need not enter into the details of the laws of succession detailed in the *Smṛtis*. An inscription of 1178 A.D. from the *Bijapur District* throws some light on the problem. It agrees also with the ordainment of *Yājñavalkya* (II, 135-6): "If anyone in the village should die at *Magadalli* without sons, his wife, female children (daughter's son?) and any kinsmen and relatives of the same gotra, who might survive, should take possession of his property *i.e.* bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grains, house and field. If none such should survive, the authorities of the village should take the property as *Dharmādeya* lands."<sup>6</sup> The widow was also entitled to the office of a *Gāvundā*.<sup>7</sup>

*Polygamy* : The system of polygamy was in vogue in those days. The *Hoysaḷa King Narasimhadēva* is said to have

1. *Ibid* p. 333.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *I. A.* VII, p. 303.

4. *Ibid*. XIV, p. 69.

5. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* X, p. 279.

6. *E. I.* V, p. 28; cf. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 135-6.

7. *E. C.* VII, Sk, 219.

married 384 wives.<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇadevarāya had married twelve.<sup>2</sup> However, generally the kings, the nobles and the aristocracy used to practise this system.

**Surnames :** The system of using surnames was also coming into vogue in the time of the Yādavas of Devagiri. As Dr. Altekar observes, 'many of the surnames given in the records survive in the Deccan even to the present day e.g. Pāṭhak, Dvivedi, Upādhyāya, Dikṣit, Paṇḍita, Paṭṭavardhan, Ghalisāsa, Vedārthada, Prasanna-sarasvati, Praudha-sarasvati, etc.'<sup>3</sup>

**Institution of Marriage :** Anuloma marriages were current in the Kannaḍa country. Ibn Khurdaba endorses the same opinion.<sup>4</sup> Alberuni states that 'the Brāhmins did not avail themselves of this opportunity.'<sup>5</sup> Bernier<sup>6</sup> (seventeenth century) contradicts the statement of the Dutch Clergyman Abraham Roger, who said that the Anuloma marriage prevailed in the seventeenth century A.D.<sup>7</sup> The system of child marriage was in vogue in those days,<sup>8</sup> though the marriage of Saṃyogitā and Prthvīrāya is to be counted as an exception. The system of marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter was also in vogue. Jagattuṅga and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Indra followed it. Further the marriage of Vikramāditya with Candaladevī may throw light on the Svayamvara form of marriage in those days. One of the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara times reminds us of the system of offering a signet ring at the time of the marriage settlement.<sup>9</sup> It is however interesting to note that regular efforts were being made to stop the system of dowry.

**Widow :** We have already discussed above that widows and daughters were entitled to their right of succession. Further, whereas the Smṛtis of Parāśara, Nārada, Śatātapa have permitted marriages of virgin widows, the Āṅgīrasas and Āśvalāyana have expressed

1. E. C. V, Pt. I. Bc. 193, p. 106.

2. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 247.

3. I. A. VII, p. 305; *Ibid.* XIV, p. 69; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

4. Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.

5. Sachau, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155-6.

6. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

7. J. R. A. S. 1881, p. 221.

8. Sachau, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154.

9. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagara*, II, p. 184.

prohibition of the same. The instance of the marriage of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II with his elder brother's widow should be treated as an exception. The system of tonsuring widows seems to have come into vogue only after the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Vedavyāsa Smṛti alone refers to it (cf. also Pehoa Prasasti of Mahendrapāla in this connection).<sup>1</sup> Tavernier refers to the custom as being prevalent in his days.<sup>2</sup>

### III Position of Women

The position of women in Karnāṭaka as compared to other provinces in India or even to that of any country in the world was unique indeed. In this land women enjoyed the privilege of acting as the best administrators. Further, being possessed of the most accomplished manners, they equally shone in the field of literature and assumed an eminent position in the galaxy of mystic saints in Karnāṭaka.

*As Administrators:* It is a unique instance in history that the majority of the queens of the various Karnāṭaka dynasties have acted either as Viceroys, Governors, or heads of religious institutions. The queens of Vikramāditya acted as Provincial Viceroys, and Akkādevī, the sister of Jayasimha actually governed and fought for the country, on account of which she was styled as 'Rāṇa Bhairavī'. Later, Rudrāmbā (from 1260 A. D.) under the name of Mahāmāṇḍaleśvara Rudradeva Mahārāya, and the Hoysala Queen Bammaladevī happened to rule over a province and a district respectively. There were others like Umādevī, Queen of Ballāḷa II, who regulated temple administration and used to take part in expeditions of war. The instance of Jakkiyabbe acting as the Nāḷagāvūṇḍa over Nāgarakhaṇḍa<sup>3</sup> may prove the capacity of even ordinary women in matters of administration.

*As Fighters and Wrestlers:* As we have already observed above, the two queens Akkādevī and Umādevī used to take an active part in the expeditions of war. Besides, the queens and courtezans of the king used to follow the kings in these expeditions. The instance of Amoghavarṣa's mother giving birth to him while

1. E. I. I, p. 246.

2. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

3. cf. *Supra* : Succession.

on an expedition is enough to illustrate the point. The various *māstigals* spread throughout the country should really prove the martial and patriotic feeling imbibed in them. Women also knew wrestling.<sup>1</sup>

**Education :** Added to this, women in ancient Karnāṭaka were highly educated in different branches of study *e.g.* literature, music, dancing etc. The names of Gaṅgādevī, the authoress of *Virakampana-rāyacaritam*, the famous Tirumalāmbā, Rāmabhadraṁbā, the authoress of *Raghunāthābhhyudayam* and others in the field of literature; or of others like Mahādeviyakkā, Giryammā and others in the field of philosophy—all these shall always be adored in Karnāṭaka by futurity. An inscription of the time of Rājakesarivarman states that there were five hundred women pupils in the Jain Monastery at, *Vidal alias* Mādevi Arandimaṅgala.<sup>2</sup> The description given about their general culture in the *Raghunāthābhhyudayam* is however interesting. While describing the splendor of the court it is said : ' They ( the women ) are said to have been proficient in composing four kinds of poetry—Citrabandha, Garbha and Āśu, and in explaining the works written in various languages. They were skilful in the art of Śatalekhini and filling up literary verse-puzzles ( Padya-Purāṇam ); they were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour ( Ghaṭikāśata ), to compose poetry in eight bhāṣas ( Sanskrit, Telugu and the six Prākṛts ). They knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas composed by the famous poets, and to explain the secrets of music of two sorts ( Karnāṭa and Deśa ). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the Viṇā and other musical instruments like the Rāvanabasta. They also knew the art of dancing in its various phases'.<sup>3</sup>

**Harem :** Foreign travellers have given a very graphic and fine description of the institution of the harem prevailing in Karnāṭaka especially in the time of the Vijayanagara empire. Nicholo di Conti states that the ruling king had 12,000 wives.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the exaggeration contained in the above statement, we may remark

1. B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, p 164-5.

2. S. I. I. III, p. 225.

3. *Raghunāthābhhyudayam*, Sargas XI-XII; Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, p. 164.

4. Major, *India*, p. 6.

that a particular importance was being attached to the harem. A distinction was made between the principal queens, the lawful wives and other inmates of the harem. Barbosa<sup>1</sup> gives an interesting description—"the women sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king; they bathe in the many tanks kept for the purpose. The king goes to see them bathing and she who pleases him the most is sent for to come to his chamber. There is constant jealousy and envy." Further as Abdur Razzaq describes,<sup>2</sup> "Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns separate. Beautiful girls were purchased and added into the Harem".

**Courtezans :** The institution of courtezans is neither new to Indian history nor to that of Karnāṭaka. However, courtezans used to accompany the king and army in war.<sup>3</sup> Further, they used to perform the services of dancing in temples for which endowments of land and money were made to them. They used to richly decorate themselves. Further, they were entitled to be present on certain occasions at the time of feasts, when festivals were held during the year.<sup>4</sup> The institution of courtezans yielded a vast income to the state. It is stated that the Vijayanagara State maintained a large police force of 12,000 on the income derived from the proceeds of the brothels.<sup>5</sup> As a foreign traveller says, 'the splendor of those houses, the beauty of the heart ravishes, their blandishments and ogle are beyond all description.'<sup>6</sup> There were special streets for the residence of courtezans. They were highly cultured and had won mastery in singing, dancing and other allied sciences.

**Other Features :** The system of Purdah was not in vogue in those days. Women used to visit bazars. They made thousands of grants to temples and other charitable institutions. The law of *strīdhana* was not unknown in Karnāṭaka.

#### IV Some Other Aspects of Social Structure

**General Condition of the People :** Without going into the details of the problem of the pomp of the Royal Durbar, or that of the amenities of the village life, with its assemblies, gardens and

1. Barbosa, *Dames I*, p. 208.

2. Elliot, *History of India*, IV, 114-15.

3. Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170.      4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.* p. 172.

6. *Ibid.*



orchards, or that of the town with the Pattana Setti at its head, we shall try to describe the condition of the people in those days in the words of the famous Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang who visited the country of Pūlo-ki-she. He says, 'The inhabitants were proud, spirited, war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wars, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress, and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into battle intoxicated and their war-elephants were also made drunk before the engagement. ....The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy.'<sup>1</sup> This must have been the condition of the people also in later centuries with some reformations.

*Their Corporate Life :* The corporate activity of the people was made visible through their joint efforts towards the rebuilding of the empire. Their various joint donations to the temples, assembly, guilds and other items of public welfare are clear evidence on the point. The rulers of the land also gave them a helping hand. The spirit of religious tolerance imbibed by the rulers of the land can be seen from two examples alone. When a conflict ensued between the Jains and the Śrīvaiṣnavas, King Bukka gave a mighty judgment in 1368 A. D., and decided the case in favour of the Jains and asked the other party to treat that religion with respect.<sup>2</sup> Then there were centres wherein all the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu gods were kept and worshipped together (e.g. Hari, Hara and Brahmā at Bādāmi;<sup>3</sup> the five Maṭhas at Belgāme of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāga and Buddha).<sup>4</sup> Further inter-caste dinners were in vogue in the earlier centuries.<sup>5</sup> Again for the sake of their country or even to militate against the cattle-raiders, thousands of men lost their lives in battle. Eventually hero-stones were erected in memory of the same, and their wives and children were endowed with gifts for their maintenance. The spirit of Hinduism was in tact and the

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 105-6.

2. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, I, p. 207.

3. *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1927-28, No. E. 237.

4. *Ibid.*

5. cf. for discussion, Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

existence of a growing hatred towards Islam can be perceived from the sentiments expressed in the *Virakampanarāyacaritam*.

*Sati and other forms of Self-immolation* : The thousands of *mastigals* or *Mahāsatikals* spread throughout the country prove the heroic spirit of women in those days.<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo,<sup>2</sup> Ibn Batuta,<sup>3</sup> Bernier,<sup>4</sup> and Tavernier<sup>5</sup> opine that the system of *sati* was in vogue mostly in the royal families. The instances of Laccala Devī and of the wife of the Kadamba king Ravivarmā may be mentioned in this connection. There were other systems of self-immolation also e.g. (1) Sallekhana: the Gaṅga king Mārasimha II, and Jakkiyabbe,<sup>6</sup> the Nāḷagāvūṇḍa, laid down their lives by fasting. It was a Jain custom. (2) Jalasamādhi: King Āhavamalladeva drowned himself into the mighty laps of the Tuṅgabhadra (3) Finally, people used to take vows and burn or bury themselves along with other persons, or even liked to be beheaded on the happening of certain events.<sup>7</sup>

*Dress and Ornaments* : Even from the point of view of a comparison between the past and the present, the problem of the dress and ornaments of any people is interesting. In Karnāṭaka we find a kind of gradual reformation taking place since the fifth century A.D. only to culminate in the time of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. As sources of information we have the accounts of Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, Barbosa, Paes etc., as well as the paintings and other works of art, and the literature of the people of the land itself. Here is a brief account of the same.

1. They are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which projects a 'woman's arm' bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised 'with fingers erect, and a lime-fruit is placed between the thumb and fore-finger. 'Some of the stones are accompanied with elaborate inscriptions: Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
2. Cordier, *Yule's Travels of Marco Polo*, II, p. 342.
3. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 191.
4. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 30.
5. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, p. 414.
6. E. C. VII, Sk. p. 219.
7. E. C. VII, Sk. p. 249.

**Early Centuries :** Men used to wear two unrestricted clothes, the dhoti and the upper garment. The stitched shirt was not known till the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. Ibn Batuta observes that even the Zamorin used to wear a loose garment.<sup>1</sup> People used to wear turbans. They used to grow beards.<sup>2</sup> Umbrellas made of bamboo or of reeds with paper inside, were used.<sup>3</sup>

The Ajantā Paintings show that women used to wear stitched petticoats (*kuppasa*) and *sāris*.

**Later Centuries :** In the Vijayanagara period stitched shirts had already come into vogue. Besides, according to Abdur Razzaq,<sup>4</sup> 'the king wore clothes in a robe of zaitun satin, and he had around his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence.' According to Varthema,<sup>5</sup> 'the king used to wear a cap of gold brocade two spans long (or the Turki Toppige). Govinda Vaidya enumerates the different kinds of dress and ornaments worn by the people of various orders and capacities.'<sup>6</sup>

**Ornaments :** Govinda Vaidya describes that, men used to have rings, *tāli*, *caukuli*, *honnasara* (necklace), *jule* of pearls, *kaḍuga*, *kaṅkaṇa* (wristlets), *muri* in the wrist, *maradiya saraḥaḷi*, jewel-ring, *honna gaḷe sara* etc. Women used to wear the following : *vīramudrā*-Signet-ring, *honna-kāluṅgura-pilli*, *mentike*, *kira-pilli*, *carāṇa*, *peṇḍeya*, *payavati*, *honnugantesara*, *raśanā*, *kaṭisūtra*, *kāncidāma*, *muktāli*, nose-jewel (*boṭṭu*), *haraloli*, *trisara*, *cintāk*, nose-ring (*mūgutti*), *kaḍaga*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *causara*, *nūpura*, *koṭṭu*, *veṇṭeya caukali* and *hombaḷi*.' Besides, he has given a detailed description of the ornaments of elephants, horses etc.<sup>7</sup>

**Superstitious Beliefs :** The people were equally superstitious then as they are to day. They used to worship the *nāga* (cobra). the ghost-gods, *mariyappā*, and other deities such as *mari*, *chaudī* *durgī* etc. Further they had full belief in astronomy and astrology.

1. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, II, p. 338.

2. Moulvi Maheshwar Prasad, *Sulaiman Saudagar*, Hindi Ed., p. 81.

3. cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

4. Elliot, *op. cit.* IV, p. 113; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 251-2.

6. cf. Bettigeri, *Karnāṭaka Janajivana*, pp. 157-59. 65. *Ibid.*

**Festivals, Games and Amusements:** Among the various Indian festivals mentioned in inscriptions and early literature the following were observed with pomp and brilliance: *Dīpāvalī*, *Caitrapavitra*, *Vārṣika Dīpotsava*, *Rathotsava* or car-festival, the worship of the lotus, swing-festival, the *Mahānavamī*, and *Dhvajasevā*. Then there were other important items i.e. fairs, sidi or hookswinging etc.<sup>1</sup>

The following games and amusements were in vogue: horse-riding, gaming, hunting, cock and ram fights (among royal recreations); animal fights<sup>2</sup> (i.e. between a boar and a favourite hound of Būtūga II); combats between gladiators and elephants, tigers and bears (in the time of Tirumalarāya)<sup>3</sup>; *kolāṭam* (stick play) and others.

As a matter of recreation the king's court used to have the seven requisites, namely, learned men, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the Purāṇas.<sup>4</sup> Provision was also made for the Rasigabhoga of deities-meaning theatricals.<sup>5</sup>

**Titles and decorations:** The following titles and decorations were bestowed as a mark of royal favour or as an indication of some other distinction: *Paṭṭa* or golden band to be worn on the forehead; *Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra*, or golden anklet apparently worn on the leg etc.

**Slavery:** Dr. B. A. Saletore has given an interesting account of the '*besa-vaga*' and the sale of human beings in Karnāṭaka. Nicolo di Conti and Ellis and the inscriptions of medieval Karnāṭaka have corroborated the above statement.<sup>6</sup> We need not go into the details of the problem.

## V Education

As the learned scholar F. E. Keay would beautifully express it: "Few countries, and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational

1. Cf also B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 370 ff.

2. *E. I.* VI., p. 56.

3. Taylor, O. H. *MSS.* II, pp. 153-9.

4. J. B. B. R. A. S. X, p. 253. 5. *E. I.* V, p. 23.

6. Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 113 ff.

systems of India.....They produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth, and their output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. They developed many nobler educational ideals which are a valuable contribution to educational thought and practice. "1

Though Southern India cannot boast of big University centres like those at Nālandā, Valabhi or Taxila, yet she could be proud enough of having a vast net-work of a number of *agrahāras*, *brahmapurīs*, *maṭhas*, *ghaṭikās* and temples which produced hundreds of luminaries of both sexes in the field of literature, art and religion, a fact which is worth imitating by any nation or province in the world. We shall, however, review the same.

*The Various Institutions* : The supremacy of the Brāhmins is to be perceived in institutions like the *agrahāra*, *brahmapurī* and *ghaṭikās*, whereas the *maṭhas* and the temples belonged to the people of the respective religious systems.

*Agrahāras* : Though they do not possess the same grandeur and gravity of their contemporary institutions in Northern India, yet the *agrahāras* served the purpose of small University centres, generally located in whole villages and managed by the community of Brāhmins. From the period of the Kadambas down to that of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara we find that the following *Agrahāras* came into being, namely, those at Beḷgāmi, Kuppaṭṭur, Tāḷgunda, Perūr, Nargund, Begur, Sayyadi, Aihoḷe, Nirgund, Degāme, Arasikere, Neralige, Sarvajñapura etc. It is also interesting to note that the famous college at Salotgi-an *Agrahāra* village, was built by Nārāyaṇa, a minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa.<sup>2</sup>

*Brahmapurī* : It was a settlement of the Brāhmins wherein education was imparted to all. They were located in a part of the city or town.

*Ghaṭikā*—The word *Ghaṭikā* has been variously interpreted, either as a public assembly for Brahmins, a religious centre or an

1. Keay, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, p. 181.

2 E. I. IV, p. 180.

educational colony.' King Mayūraśarmā is described to have paid a visit to all the Ghaṭikās at Kāñci.<sup>1</sup>

**Maṭhas**—Like the Buddhist Vihāras the Monasteries of the Jains and the Līṅāyats also formed the other centres of learning in Karnāṭaka. As Prof. Moraes has aptly said, 'the Maṭha was a typical Indian monastery with monks, ascetics and students living within its precincts. These monasteries were invariably attached to some local temple or had some temples attached to them.'<sup>2</sup> The sect of the Kāṣmukhas among the Śaivas probably hailed from Gujarat<sup>3</sup> and was responsible for fostering the same. Some of the famous monasteries of the Kāṣmukhas were located at Belgāmi, Kuppattur, Bāndhavapura, Sindagere, Yewūr, Sūḍi, Kurgod etc. The Jain monasteries, however, had spread everywhere in Karnāṭaka.

**Temple**: The temples formed another fabric wherein mostly arrangements were made for primary education. The Salotgi temple college is famous in history. It is also worth noting that the priest, manager, drummers, the singer, dancing girls (devadāsī) and others formed the main staff.<sup>4</sup>

**Scope of Education**: Though it is possible that the heads of these institutions must have given prominence to the main systems of religion to which they belonged, still, it is interesting to note that they imparted education in all the branches of study. As Prof. Mookerji says,<sup>5</sup> "the (three) inscriptions are very valuable as showing the circle of knowledge then available and cultivated. There are mentioned the four Vedas with their *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*; *mīmāṃsā*, *lokāyata*, *bauddha*, *sāṃkhya*, *vaiśeṣika* and other *śāstras* and *āgamas*; the eighteen *Purāṇas*, *smṛtis* *kāvya*s and *nāṭakas*. The agrahāra at Belgāmi, besides these educational institutions, possessed three medical dispensaries. Accordingly the evidence of Sb. 227 in 1158 A. D., Sk. 102 shows that in 1162 A.D. the Koḍiyamaṭha was known as a place for the treatment of destitute sick persons." It is also worth noting that specific provision was made for teaching Nāgara, Kannada, Tigula

1. E. C. VII Sk. 176.

2. Moraes, the *Kadambakula*, p. 295.

3. Cf. E. I. XII, p. 337.

4. E. I., XV, p. 93.

5. Mookerji, *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*, pp. 287 ff.

(Tāmil) and Ārya (Marhāṭi) in the college founded and endowed in 1290 by the Hoysala minister Perumāla at Mailangi.<sup>1</sup>

*Management and Functions* : Though the other educational institutions were managed mostly by the heads, still the agrahāras were managed by the assembly of the *mahājanas*, whose numbers, however, varied from two to four hundred.<sup>2</sup> The sberiff used to preside. There are instances where members of the imperial family used to manage the affairs. The Ponnaṇḍā agrahāra was under the control of Ketalaḍevī, wife of Someśvara I. Agrahāras like Belgāmi were absolutely free from any government supremacy. The *mahājanas* were also eminently educated. The *mahājanas* of the agrahāra of Kuppattur are said to have been perfect in all the branches of study.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that they also formed centres of militia in cases of self-protection, such as at Lakkunḍi<sup>4</sup> and Kuppattur.<sup>5</sup> These agrahāras were free from the encroachment of the soldiers and tax-collectors. The *mahājanas* also looked after the general management and other municipal duties e.g. sanitation, public works, military, etc. which were necessary in the case of these self-autonomous institutions.

*Others Matters* : These educational institutions were supported by the kings, queens, nobles, as also by the rich and the poor. They must have possessed big libraries as the expressions Sarasvati-Bhāṇḍāra and Bhāṇḍarakas would indicate it,<sup>6</sup> and the Professors who were appointed in these institutions were eminently qualified to foster the culture of the land among the student-world. Some of these institutions had also free boarding houses. The agrahāras were not small in extent i.e. the agrahāra of Tālgunḍur consisted of 32,000 Brāhmanas with 12,000 Agnihotrinis.<sup>7</sup> Women also used to get education. The Jain Monastery of Vidal consisted of 500 women pupils.<sup>8</sup> The town of Belgāmi alone consisted of seven Brāhma-puries, three Puras, five Maṭhas and several Agrahāras.<sup>9</sup> Thus the services rendered by these institutions in historical time are really marvellous and eminent indeed !

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 179.

2. *of. Supra*.

3. E. C. VIII, Sb. 249; cf. Dr. A. V. Subbiah, QJMS. VII, p. 166.

4. E. I. XV, I. C.

5. E. C. VIII, Sb. 253.

6. *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 8. p. 48.

7. E. C. VII, Sb. 186.

8. S. I. I. III, p. 225.

9. *Maokerji, op. cit.*, p. 287.





## CHAPTER VI

### LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Introductory — Dravidian and Kannaḍa — Antiquity and History — The Periods — Centres of Kannaḍa — Patriotic feelings — Kannaḍa and other Languages — Kannaḍa Alphabet — Metre — Their Literature.

#### I Introductory

If the Dravidian nature of the Indus Valley Script stands its test of trial in the long run, then two factors may emerge on the scene, namely, that the origin of the Dravidian language can be traced to the hoary pre-Vedic times, and that even the Brāhmī was evolved out of it. Apart from the close connections between the Ancient Median Language or the Finish of North Europe or even the Ostiak of Siberia, and the Dravidian, still the very fact of the existence of a close affinity between the Dravidian and the Brahui, a non-literary language of Baluchistan, should give us courage to believe the above theory - even on account of the vicinity of Baluchistan and the country of the sites of Mohenjo Daro, Chanhū Daro and Harappa. However, we should still wait for further researches in this direction.

#### II Dravidian and Kannaḍa

The total number of Dravidian speaking population now is about 60,460,000 out of which the Kannaḍigas number about 10,368,515 millions in all.<sup>1</sup> The group of the Dravidian languages comprises of the Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu, Koḍagu, Tuḍa, Koṭa and Baḍage. Of these the first four alone have their own alphabets, grammar and literature. Kannaḍa also belongs to the Pañca-Drāviḍa group of languages — the remaining four of the same being Tamil, Telugu, Malayāḷam and Tuḷu. Some scholars have, however, introduced the Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭi in this group.<sup>2</sup> But we are not in a position to agree with the same especially in view of the data available to us at present.

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1. *Census Report of 1901*; cf. also Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 35. The later reports are not so reliable.

2. Cf. R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka Kavacarite*, I, p. XI.

### III Its Antiquity and History

The early Indian literature supplies us with some significant words of Dravidian origin. The expressions *Perum* <sup>1</sup> (Lord, from Dr. *Per*), *ambā* (mother, from Dr. *Ammā*), *Mūradeva* <sup>2</sup> (Kārtikēya, from Dr. *Mūruga*), *Śiva* <sup>3</sup> (red, from Dr. *Śivan*); and *Śiṣṇa-deva* <sup>4</sup> (a nude God, from Dr. *Śanni*) occur in the *R̥gveda*. The expression *Pulinda* (a tribe in South, from *Puli-Huli*-tiger) is used in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>5</sup> The *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* speaks of *Nārāyaṇa* (God lying on waters, from Dr. *Nir*-water). The *Mahābhārata* uses the expression *Eḍuka* (meaning Stūpa, a Megalithic tomb, from Dr. *elu*). All these terminologies give us a bare clue to the effect that the original inhabitants of India had a nude God Śiva, Ammā and Mūruga as their deities, and that the custom of building Megalithic tombs was in vogue amongst them. Rev. Kittel in his *Introduction to the Kanarese-English Dictionary* has given a long list of Sanskrit words originally derived from the Dravidian. We propose to enumerate a few of them here: *Mandira* (temple, from Dr. *Mane*), *Paṭṭa*, *Pattana* (town, from Dr. *Paḍu*), *Kūṭa* (a house), *Bhilla* (a mountaineer, from Dr. *Billa*, *Bil*), *Muni* (a sage, from Dr. *Mun*), *Nāṭa-Nāṭaka* (province, from Dr. *Nāḍu*), *Māru* (mountain or rock, from Dr. *Maraḍi*), *Malaya* (mountain from Dr. *Male*), *Pāli* (village, from Dr. *Palli*), *Kanaka* (gold, from Dr. *Keika*, *Ken*), *Pulinda* (tribe, from Dr. *Puli-Huli*-tiger), *Muktā* (a pearl, from Dr. *Muttu*), *Āḷ* (man, as in *Pañcāla*), *Mīn* (a fish, from Dr. *Mīn*), *Eḍa* (a kind of sheep, from Dr. *Eraṭa*) and others.

All this clearly indicates an independent civilization of the non-Aryan peoples since originally. The existence of the numerous Megalithic tombs; the early tribes of Pulindas (whose *Lāñcchana* seems to have been the tiger), the Matsyas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Tāmiḷs (from *tamas* + *iḷā* = nether world or *Pātāla*); the microliths; and other finds do indicate the nature of the early civilization of the non-Aryans. They are designated as *Vrātyas* in early Indian literature

1. *R̥gveda* X, 36.8

2. *Ibid.*, VII, 104. 24.

3. cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, I, p. 145; *R̥gveda*, 10, 98, 2.

4. *R̥gveda*, VII, 21. 5; K, 99. 3.

5. cf. *Supra*.

and the expression *Druid*—*Dravida* (from *Drumila*—*Tamil*) seems to have been applied both in the West and East, mainly because the last vestiges of their civilization remained in the Tamiltan tract alone. It is worth noting that the *Mahābhārata* locates the *Dravidas* in the Tamil land.

#### IV The Periods

The Rev. F. Kittel <sup>1</sup> has proposed three periods: The classical (from the 10th to the middle of the 13th Cen. A. D.), Medieval ( to the end of the 15th Cen. ) and Modern (which begins after the 16th Cen. A.D. ). Rice <sup>2</sup> divides the same into three but different periods i.e. *Pūrvada Haḷegannada* (primitive Kannada terminology with the seventh century A.D.), *Haḷegannada* (Old Kannada, 7th to 14th Cen.) and *Hosa-gannada* (since that time onwards). R. Narasimhacharya agrees with the same view.<sup>3</sup> But it should be noted in this connection that the advent of the *Kavirājamārga* (9th Cen.), the beginning of the *Śaiva* (12th Cen. A.D.) and later *Vaiṣṇava* (16th Cen. A.D.) literature respectively, have really marked the different stages of the development of the Kannada language. The characteristics of the language in the Pre-Kavirājamārga period possess an individuality of their own. So the three later periods evidently mark a transition from the Pre-Kavirājamārga period.

**Pre-Kavirajamarga Period :** It should be said that this period abounds in literary activity of the first order. The Minor Rock Inscriptions of Aśoka are the earliest specimen of Brāhmī in Southern India. Next follows the Brāhmī inscription discovered at Vadagaon in the Belgaum District. The various coins and inscriptions of the *Sātakarnis* and *Cuṭu-Sātakarnis* indicate the early instances of Prākṛt. 'The purest Kannada inscriptions found up-till now are the *Halmidi* (Mysore) inscription of the fifth century A. D., the *Śirguppi* (Dharwar District) inscription of *Vāṇasettī-arasa* of the sixth century A. D., and the *Bādāmi* inscription of *Maṅgalīśa* of 578 A. D. (in *Bādāmi Cave No. 3* ).'

Kannada must have been a spoken language since very early times. The expression *Maḡoi* (along with *Brakhamnoi*) used by

1. Kittel, *A Kanarese-English Dictionary*.
2. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, I, p. 394.
3. Narasimhacharya, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 17-18.

Ptolemy is evidently derived from the Kannada word *Magu*. According to Hultzsab, B. L. Rice and Grierson the Greek farce found at Oxyrhyncus contains words identifiable with those of Kannada e. g. *Brathis* = *ber aḍisi*; *Koṭṭos* = *Kuḍisu*; *Bere koṇcu* *Madhupātrakke hāki*, etc. It is also evident that Sanskrit also had travelled to this land since before this period. According to Jain tradition Kannada was one of the eighteen alphabets invented by Brāhmī, the daughter of Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthāṅkara. There is a curious inscription ( 9th Cen. A. D ) in a Jain temple in the Deoghar Fort containing specimens of different alphabets mostly Dravidian. <sup>1</sup>

The earliest writers who flourished in Karnāṭaka during this period were the poets Samantabhadra ( 400 A. D. ), Kaviparaṃeṣṭhi ( 550 A. D. ), Pūjyapāda, Śrīvallabhadeva ( 650 A. D. ), author of Cūdāmaṇi ( *Tattvārtha-Mahāśāstra* ), and Śyāmakundācārya ( 650 A. D. ). The Kavirājamārga refers to the following authors and their works: ( 1 ) prose writers like Śvetāmbara Jain Vimala ( 777 A. D. ), author of *Praśnottaramālā* in Sanskrit, Udaya Coḷa, son of king Somanātha(?), author of *Udayādityālaṅkāra*, Nāgārjuna, author of the medical work *Nāgārjuna Kākṣapuṭa*, Jayabandhu, author of *Sūpaśāstra*, and Durvinīta ( 600 A. D. ) writer of *Śabdāvatāra*, Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhatkathā* in Kannada, and the commentary on the fifteenth Sarga of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*; and ( 2 ) Poets like Śrīvijaya, a Sabhāsada of king Nrpatuṅga, author of *Candraprabhāpurāṇa*, Kavīśvara, Paṇḍita, Candra, Lokapāla, Jayabandhunandana, author of *Sūpaśāstra* ( in Campu style ), and Saigoṭṭa Śivamāra ( 800 A. D. ), author of *Gajaśāstra* ( cf. also *infra* ).

In his eminent work Mr. Dinkar A. Desai<sup>2</sup> refers to the linguistic characteristics of the literature of this period :

Accusative or second-casing	Ān instead of An
Genitive	Ā instead of A
Locative	Uḷ instead of oḷ
Verb-sign ( Ākhyāta-pratyaya )	Ān or On Ār-Or instead of Ar.

Negative Predicate sign ( Niṣadhapratyaya ) Ā instead of A.  
Further the letter *Ba* at the commencement of a word is *Va*; *i* changes

1. *Report on the Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle* for 1918, p. 19.

2. Desai, *Ms.*

into *ē* in this period. A double sound occurs in some words instead of a single-Talakkadu for Talekadu.

It should also be noted in this connection that Pulikeśi II seems to have taken a keen part in giving an impetus to Kannada language and literature.

The numerous inscriptions and words like Kannada-sandhi-vigraha, Nāda-heggaḍe etc. do indicate the sentiment.

**Transition from the Jain to the Saiva period :** The second period lasted till about the middle of the 12th century with the changes mentioned above. The transition from the second to the third period is again interesting.

' During this period the letter *ḷ* was entirely dropped, and its place taken by *ḷa* or the half-letter *ṛ*. The letter *ḷa* at the commencement of a word and in verbal forms was changed to *ha*. And there was a negligence in the observance of the rule of syntax and rhyme ( prose ).

' Besides this the Campu becomes rather out of vogue and the other metres Saṭpadi, Tripadi and the Ragale come into existence. The Sāṅgatyā and the Vacana come into prominence ' <sup>1</sup>.

**Transition from the Saiva to Vaisnava period :** The writings of Śrīpādarāya most probably indicate the beginning of the new period. As Mr. Rice aptly expresses it, " Many ancient verbs and nouns fall into disuse. The letter *ra* begins to be used laxly in alliteration with other letters, and is finally dropped altogether. Verbs, nouns and suffixes hitherto having consonantal endings, now have the vowel *u* added to them to assist enunciation. The form of the present tense is changed and a contingent future is newly introduced " <sup>2</sup>.

## V Centres of Kannada

We have already discussed the problem regarding the boundaries of the Karnāṭaka empire in the different periods of its history. The Kannada language also was spoken in a vast portion of Southern India. As the author of the Kaviṛājamārga refers to it: <sup>3</sup>

1. Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 57.
2. Ibid, p. 78.
3. Kaviṛājamārga, 1, pp. 36-39; Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, p. 29.

"In all the circles of the earth  
 No fairer land you will find,  
 Than that where rich sweet Kannada  
 Voices the peoples' mind."

Again the author states that Kisuvolā, Kopana, Oakunda and Purigere formed the centres of the Kannada language.<sup>1</sup> The master-poet Ādi Pampa refers only to Purigere. The further history of Kannada language depended more on the destiny of its rulers. Along with this, we agree with R. Narasimhacharya when he says that, there were no Northern and Southern Schools of Kannada; wherever such references occur, they happen to be mere translations of Dandin.<sup>2</sup>

## VI Their Patriotic Feelings

The Kannada authors have shown a definite sense of patriotic feeling for their mother tongue. In fact since the time of Pulikeśin II, who for the first time tried to introduce Kannada words in the administration (*cf. supra*), we find regular efforts were made to keep up the purity of the Kannada language. In fact the author of the Kavirājamārga, Durgasimha (c. 11th cen. A.D.) and Nayasena (c. 12th cen.) have all expressed such a patriotic feeling. The famous Anḍayya went one step further and composed the "Kabbigara Kāva" in pure Kannada, as even free from its original element of the admixture with Sanskrit. He also expressed his feelings about the same. Later Raghunātha, the author of the Anubhavāmṛta says about the Kannada language:

"Easy is Kannada like the plantain stripped of skin, like the sugarcane with the covering removed, like milk cooled to comfortable warmth"<sup>3</sup>.

Again, the eminent Vaiṣṇava poet Jagannāthadāsa challenges the position of the haters of the Kannada thus:

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Karnataka Kavacarite*, II, Intro., p. 16.

3. *Iyengar, Popular Culture in Karnataka*, p. 91.

"Having perceived the disc of the sun, if a thief instead of bowing at it, through hatred despises it - is that a defect in the Sun (itself)? Even so, of what avail would it be, if anyone hates this work because it is not in Sanskrit" <sup>1</sup> ?

Besides, the mighty services done by the great Jain Ācāryas, Basava and the Śivasaraṇas, and the Haridāsas, towards the enrichment of the Kannada language shall ever be remembered with reverence by futurity.

## VII Kannada and other Languages

Karnāṭaka has undergone so many vicissitudes in regard to its political activities that it is natural enough to conclude that there must have been a mutual influence between Kannada and other languages like Arabic, Marāṭhī, Hindustāni, Tamil and Telugu. A detailed study of these languages and the Prākṛts of the various periods do indicate this.

Kannada seems to have wielded a vast influence on the Marāṭhī and Telugu literature. One would find surprising that the famous Mahārāṣṭrian saint Jñāneśvara has rendered almost the whole of the teaching of Siddhānta Śaivism - whose main centre was Beḷgāmi in Karnāṭaka - in his Anubhavāmṛta. Further the Jñāneśvarī contains innumerable words of Kannada origin. It is also worth noting that the great Jain writer Pradyotanasūri (7th cen. A.D.) mentions in his Kuvalayamālā that Paiṭhaṇ formed an important centre of Karnāṭaka.

As in the case of Marāṭhī, Kannada greatly influenced the Telugu literature. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is said to have known the three languages Karnāṭaka, Prākṛt and Paisācika. The Bhārata of Pampa seems to have acted as a great source of inspiration to Nanniah while writing his famous Mahābhārata. Śrīnāka admits that he made use of pure Karnāṭaka style. The political compositions of Nannecoḍu contain many Kannada words. It is also said that Pampa and Nāgavarmā hailed from the Āndhra country.

## VIII Kannada Alphabet and Metres

**Kannada Alphabet:** Rice summarises the whole position regarding the Kannada Alphabet thus: "The Alphabet is consequently syllabic and follows the orderly arrangement of the

1. *Harikathāmṛtasāra*, 16, Vs. 34-36.

**Sanskrit Alphabet.** It even includes forms for ten aspirates, two sibilants and certain vowels and a semi-vowels not required for Dravidian words; but there have been added five characters ( e, ô, ã, ra, ã ) for sounds not occurring in Sanskrit. ”<sup>1</sup>

**Metre:** Though in the early centuries the borrowing of the Kannaḍa authors was rather on a large scale, still after the 10th century A. D. they began to compose poetry in their own metres e. g. Pada, Sulādi, Ugābhoga, Tattva-suvāli, Śloka, Kanda, Vacana, Gadya, Śisapadya, Vṛtta, Dvipadi, Tripadi, Caupadi, Ṣaṭpadi, Aṣṭapadi, Ragaḷe, Yālapada, Sāṅgatya, etc. The Campu style was evidently borrowed from the Sanskrit.

### IX (i) Kannada Literature

The literary contribution of Karnāṭaka is at once rich and all-sided. In fact the works of the Kannaḍigas are available at present in three different languages, namely Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Telugu. They cover almost all the branches of study : Philosophy, Religion, History, Biography, Poetics, Romance, Drama, Folksongs, Medicine, Grammar, Astronomy, Palmistry and other Sciences. Out of the numerous Kannaḍa authors only the names of about 934 are available, out of which are 174 Jains, 427 Vīraśaivas, 229 Brahmins and 104 of other communities. It is also worth while to note that this list includes the names of about 42 women writers, ( among whom Kānti was the first Jain poetess ), 5 Emperors and 75 Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras and Rājas. The sweet and melodious notes of the psalms of Purandaradāsa, the easy flow and rhythm of the lines of Harihara, the grace, ease and beauty obtaining in the works of the ‘ Three Gems ’ Pampa, Ponna and Ranna still produce a soothing sensation in the minds of the readers. However, we shall now try to give a brief survey of the works of these eminent Kannaḍa writers.

#### (ii) Epics and Puranas

The contribution of the Kannada writers in connection with the writing of Epics and Purāṇas is marvellous indeed. Besides rendering the two Sanskrit epics the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata into Kannaḍa, they have composed Purāṇas dealing with the life-sketches and doings of either the Jain or Śaiva saints. There are also two

1. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, p. 13.



versions of the epics e. g. Jain and Brahmin. We propose to give a short survey of the same.

### (a) **Ramayana**

The Jain and Brahmin writers have rendered the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa into two different versions e.g. Jain and Brahmin.

**Jain Version :** Nāgacandra or Abhinava Pampa (c. 1105) was the first to compose the Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa. As Rice has rightly suggested it, "the work has a Jain atmosphere, (and) while the main trend of the narrative coincides with that of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, there is a very wide difference in details".<sup>1</sup>

Besides this, there were other Jain writers who handled the theme similarly i. e. Kumudendu-Rāmāyaṇa in Ṣaṭpadi (c. 1275) by Kumudendu, Rāmacandracarita by Candrasēkhara and Padmanābha (1700-1750), and Rāmakathāvatāra (in prose) by Devacandra (c. 1797). Further the Cāvuṇḍarāya-Purāṇa (978 A. D.), the Dharmāmṛta by Nayasena (1112 A. D.) and Puṇyāśrava (1331) by Nāgarāja also give an account of the story of Rāma. The Rāmāvatāra-kathā by Devacandra (c. 1838) is based on Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa.

**Orthodox Version :** Narahari (c. 1500) was the first poet to detail the story of Rāma e.g. popularly known as Torave Rāmāyaṇa in an orthodox fashion or the Brahmanical standpoint. He was a master-poet and styled himself as Vālmīki at Torave. Later other works followed. Tirumala Vaidya (1650) completed the portions left unfinished in the major work Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. Further the works i. e. Timmarasa's (c. 1708 A. D.) Mārkaṇḍeya-Rāmāyaṇa and Timmarāya's (c. 1708) Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa are of great merit.

### (b) **Bharata**

There are some famous works on the Mahābhārata in Kannaḍa. **Jain Version :** After Kavi Vyāsa (c. 900 A.D.) the famous poet Ādi

1. Cf. Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, pp. 34-35. The narrative introduces these changes: Rākṣasas are designated as Vidyādhara; (2) Brāhmins are replaced by Jain Yatis; (3) Sugrīva and Hanumanta are treated as men whose banners had the figure of a monkey (Vānaradhvaṇḍa) and (4) Rāma's mother is said to have been Aparājita.

Pampa (born in 902 A.D.) one of the 'Three gems' of his time, composed the work called Vikramārjunavijaya (941 A. D.), popularly known as Pampa-Bhārata. It is the most excellently written work in Kannada poetry. He gave a Jain colouring to the original Bhārata and effected many changes in the original story<sup>1</sup>. Later Sālva wrote a work on the same, which is better known as Sālva-Bhārata.

**Brahmanical Version:** The two famous works on the Bhārata written from the Brahmanical standpoint are the Gadugina-Bhārata by Nārāyaṇa (15th Cen.) known by his *nom-de-plume* 'Kumāravyāsa', and the other Jaimini Bhārata by Lakṣmīśa, who wrote it in ṣaṭpadi, and 'is the best specimen of its style'. Later the poet Timmaṇṇa (c. 1510) wrote the remaining *parvas* after the Śānti (which were left unfinished by Kumāravyāsa). Further Nāgarasa of Paṇḍharpūr wrote the Lakṣmakavi-Bhārata (c.1728) in ṣaṭpadi.

### (c) Bhagavata Purana

The Bhāgavata became the Handbook of the Vaiṣṇavas as it mainly contained the story of their overlord Kṛṣṇa. The following works are famous i. e. (1) Kannada rendering by Cāṭu-Viṭṭhalanātha (c. 1531), (2) the prose commentary of Cikkadeva-Rāya (1672-1704 A.D.), and Prasanna-Veṅkaṭeśa's Kṛṣṇalīlābhyudaya (10th chapter of the Bhāgavata), the last of which is famous and popular even to this day. Further there is the prose version of the Bhāgavata under the title 'Kṛṣṇarāja-Vāṇivilāsa, reproduced under the patronage of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar III (1799-1868).

### (iii) Jain Puranas

Especially during the second and third periods the Jains wrote various Purāṇas either regarding the lives of their 24 Tīrthaṅkaras or the sixty-three (Tri-ṣaṣṭi) great people, who, it is said, flourished in ancient times. The following are some of the main Purāṇas written by the Kannada authors: the Harivaṁśa or Neminātha-Purāṇa by Guṇavarmā (10th cen.), the Ādipurāṇa by Ādi Pampa (date cf. *Supra*),—which stands 'unsurpassed in style among the Kannada works', the Śāntipurāṇa by Poṇṇa, during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

(939-968 A. D.), the *Ajita-Purāṇa* by Ranna, one of the 'Three-Gems' (his other work being *Sāhasa-Bhīma* or *Gadāyuddha*), the *Cāvuṇḍa-Rāya Purāṇa* (dealing with the lives of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras) by Cāvuṇḍarāya in 978 A. D., the *Mallinātha-Purāṇa* by Abhinava Pampa (c. 1105 A. D.), the *Neminātha Purāṇa* by Karpapārya (c. 1140), the *Candraprabhā Purāṇa* (1189) by Aggaḷa, the *Var-dhamāna Purāṇa* (c. 1195) by Ācaṇṇa, the *Harivaṃśābhyudaya* (c. 1200) by Bandhuvarma, the *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa* (1205) by Pārśva Paṇḍita, *Anantanātha Purāṇa* (1230) by Janna, *Puṣpa-danta-Purāṇa* (c. 1235) by Guṇavarma II, *Śāntiśvara Purāṇa* (c. 1235) by Kamalābhava, and *Neminātha Purāṇa* (1254) by Mahābalakavi.

**Purāṇas on the life of Jain Saints:** Many works have been written in regard to the life-stories of the Jain saints. The following are more famous: the *Dharmānātha Purāṇa* (1385) by Madhura, the *Nemi jīveśa* (1508) by Maṅgarasa, the *Śāntinātha* (1519) by Śāntikīrti, the *Candraprabhā* (1550) and *Dodḍapaṇka* (1578) by Dodḍayya, the *Bharateśvara caritre* (who according to the Jains was a Jain) by Ratnākaravarṇi (c. 1557), the *Munivaṃśābhyudaya* by Cidānandakavi (c. 1680), and the *Bijjaḷarāya-caritre* (Jain version).

#### (iv) Lingayat Literature on the Lives of their Saints

The Lingāyats of Karnāṭaka have provided us with works dealing with the lives of the 'sixty-three' ancient saints Triṣaṣṭipurā-tanaru, their founder Basaveśvara and other Śivaśaraṇas. The following are among the most important ones: The *Basava Purāṇa* (1369) in ṣaṭpadi metre by Bhīmakavi, the *Mahā-Basavarājacaritre* (c. 1500) by Siṅgi-rāja, the *Vṛṣabhendra-Vijaya* (1671) by Saḍa-kṣaradeva, the *Padmarāja Purāṇa* (1385) by Padmanāṅka, the *Cennabasava Purāṇa* (1585) by Virūpākṣa Paṇḍit, the *Prabhulingāṭile* (or of Allamaṇḍaprabhu) (c. 1430) by Cāmarasa, the *Siddharāma Purāṇa* (c. 1165), and the *Pavāda* of Basavarāja (c. 1700) by Maṛuḷasiddha.

**Lives of Lingayats, Acaryas and Puratanas:** The following works are important in this connection: the *Ārādhyā-Caritra* (c. 1485) by Nīlakaṇṭhācārya, the *Rēvaṇa-siddheśvara Purāṇa* (c. 1500) by Caturmukha, the *Rēvaṇa-siddheśvarakāvya* (1413)

by Mallanā, the Caturāśya Purāṇa ( 1698 ), the Saundara-Purāṇa ( c. 1450 ) by Bamarasa, Purāṇanara-tripadi ( c. 1500 ) by Nijagunayogi, Triśaṣṭi-purāṇanara Caritre ( c. 1500 ) by Surāṅga Kavi ( of Puligere ), the Virasaivāmṛta-Purāṇa ( 1513 ) by Gubbi Mallanārya, the Tribhuvanatilaka-sāṅgatya ( 1519 ) by Viruparāja, the Basava-purāṇada-purāṇanara Caritre ( c. 1550 ) by Kumāra Cennabasava, the Gururājacaritre ( c. 1650 ) by Siddhanañjeśa, the story of Nannayya by Kavi Mādaṇṇa ( c. 1650 ), and the Śantilinga-deśika ( 1672 ).

### (v) Philosophy and Mysticism

#### (a) Jain Contribution

The following works are important : The Dharmāmṛta (a book on morals, by Nayasena, the translation of the work called Dharma-parīkṣā by Vṛttavilāsa (c. 1160), the Samaya-parīkṣā by Brahmasiva of Pottanagere, the Triloka-śataka (1557) by Ratnākara-varni, the Jñānabhāskaracarite (1519) by Nemanna, the Kannada work Ratna-karaṇḍaka by Āyata-varmā (c. 1400) and the Jinamunitanaya (c. 17th Cen. A. D.).

#### (b) Virasaiva Philosophy and Mysticism

Here is a list of important works on Virasaiva philosophy and Mysticism .

**Virasaiva Philosophy :** The works Ṣaṣṭhalavacana, Kālajñāvacana, Mantra, Gopya, Ghaṭacakravacana and Rājayogavacana by Basava, the Śivatattva-cintāmaṇi by Cintāmaṇi (c. 15th Cen.) the Nurundu-sthala by Jakkaṇārya (c. 15th Cen.), the Saptakāvya by Guru Basava, the Avadhūta Gītā, the Praudharāyacaritre by Adṛśya (c. 1595), the Ṣaṣṭhala Jñānāmṛta by Toṇṇada Siddheśvara or Siddhalīṅgayati (c. 15th Cen.), the commentary on the Sanskrit work Śivayogapradīpikā and the Vivekacintāmaṇi by Nijaguna Śivayogi (c. 15th Cen. A. D.), the Bhāva Cintāratna (1513) and the Virasaivāmṛta (1531) by Mallanārya, the Sarvajñara Padagaḷu, which are words of wisdom composed by the famous Sarvajña, the Śivādhikya Purāṇa (1611) by Basavalīṅga, and the Brahmottarakāṇḍa.

**Vacana Literature :** The Śivaśaraṇas have composed thousands of Vacanas dealing with the Virasaiva mysticism. As Mr. Rice aptly puts it: "In form the Vacanas are brief disconnected

ragraphs, each ending with one or another of the numerous local mes under which Śiva is worshipped. In style, they are epigrammatical, parallelistic and allusive." The names of about 213 Vaca-  
kūras (twenty-eight of them being women) are known to us uptill  
ow. About 168 amongst them have titular names (*nom-de-plume*).

Besides Basava, Cennabasava and Allama Prabhu, the following  
uthors also attained prominence: Itṭappaiya, Cennaya, Mācideva,  
ṅaṅaiyya, Muddaiah, Kāmideva, Kāmappa, Rāmaṇṇa, Ketayya,  
Maraiya, Basavaṇṇa, and Bemmaṇa. Equally remarkable for  
heir marvellous poetry are the following Liṅgāyat women: Gaṅgā-  
nbike, the wives of Mallaiyya, Kundarmaṅcaṇṇa and of Uruliṅga  
Peddie; Mahādeviakkā, Muktāyakkā, Remṇavve, Kālavve, another  
Remṇavve and another Kālavve, Recavve, Gaṅgamma, sister  
Nāgāyi Goggavve, Mūsammā, Thāyamma, Guḍḍavol, Sātāyakkā  
Remamma and Suvarṇa-Devī.

### (c) Advaita Philosophy

Apart from the works on Advaita in Sanskrit, Kannada writers  
have made some original contributions through their mother tongue  
i. e. the Anubhavāmṛita "Nectar of Fruition," a leading text book  
on Vedānta by Raṅgaṇātha or Raṅgāvadadhūta (c. 1750), and the  
Jīvasambodhana by Bandhuvarṇa.

### (d) Madhivism

Besides their numerous contributions in the field  
of Sanskrit, the Mādhvas have produced wonderful specimens of  
literary art in the field of Kannada literature. Especially the school  
of the Haridāsas has done an immense service towards the enrich-  
ment of Kannada culture. Some of them had their own titular names  
and others not. The following Haridāsas are rather prominently known:  
Narahaṛitīrtha (originally known as Śāmasātri, 13th Cen. A. D.),  
Śrīpādaṛāya (15th Cen. A. D.), the author of the Bhramara, Gopī  
and Venu-Gītās respectively; Vyāsaṛāya, also known as Candrikā-  
cārya (1447-1539), the author of Tarkatāṇḍava, Nyāya-  
mṛta and Candrikā (all these are in Sanskrit), Purandaradāsa  
(1484-1564); Kanakadāsa (of the same era), the author of  
Narasimhaṣṭotra, Mohanaṭaraṅgiṇī, Rāmadhūnyamantra and Haribha-  
ktisāra; Vādisaṭīrtha or Soderājara (1499-1600), the author of

numerous works—16 in Sanskrit and 7 in Kannada<sup>1</sup>; Vijayadāsa ( 1687-1755 A. D. ); Gopāladāsa ( 1717 ), the famous author of the Haṭavāda; Jagannāthadāsa ( 1727-1809 ), the eminent author of the Harikathāmr̥tasāra, Gīriyammā ( 18th Cen. ), Prasannavenkaṭeśa, Gurugopāladāsa, Vasudevadāsa and others. They composed hundreds of mystic psalms, many of which are available even to this day.

### ( vi ) Sāngatya

The Sāngatya is a purely Kannada form of composition especially intended to be intoned to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. It came into vogue into the fifties of the 13th century. The following are some of the most important works : The earliest works in this form are the first two works : Añjanācaritre and Tripuradahana by Siśumāyaṇa ( c. 1231 A. D. ). Various Purāṇas, life-sketches and works on morals etc. are usually written in this style e. g. the Bharateśa-Vaibhava, Gommaṭeśvara, Colarājasāngatya etc. It should also be noted that the life-sketches i. e. the Kumārārāmacaritre by Nañjunda and the Kanṭhīravanarasarāja-caritre were written in this form.

### [( vii ) Satakas

The Śatakas are generally written in Vṛtta, Śaṭpadi and Kanda. They deal mostly with topics of high philosophy and morals. The following are very important : the Candracintāmaṇi-Śataka ( 1070 ) by Nāgavarmā, the Pampāśataka ( 1185 ) by Harihara, Someśvara-Śataka ( 1195 ) by Someśvara, the Śivādhava, Śivavallabhi, and Aipuri Śatakas by Maggeya-māyideva ( 1430 ), the Triloka and Aparājiteśvara-Śataka by Ratnākaravarṇi ( c. 1557 ), Śivamahimā-śataka by Cennamallikārjuna ( 1560 ), Pampāvirpa-Śataka by Hiriyāruraṇa ( 1650 ), Paścima-Raṅgadhāma-Śataka by Lakṣmayya ( 1700 ), Virabhadrarāja-Śataka, Śaṅkara-Śataka by Śaṅkaradeva ( 1620 ), and Iṣṭa-Śataka by Kāḍasiddheśa ( 1725 ).

### ( viii ) Folksongs

This is an interesting form of literature by itself. Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar has given a beautiful survey of the literature on the subject. ' The songs of the cart-men, the cowherd, the women grinding on the stone, village folks, village lover, the gardener and others—being composed on all the other topics which are not generally

dealt with in literature as being less refined—are of immense interest. Mr. Masti has referred to some songs that are in vogue in different parts of Karnāṭaka e. g. Śrī-Raṅgapaṭṇi, Malnāḍ and other places. The ballad of Raṅganāyaka and Rāni of Nagar, story of Yallammā and further of a lover and his beloved are interesting. <sup>1</sup>

### (xi) Yaksagana and Kannada Drama

We need not go here into the details of the problem regarding the existence of the theatre in medieval Karnāṭaka. However, the theatres have been constantly referred to since the time of Ādi Pampa. <sup>2</sup> While opining that, "the present drama developed out of the Killeketas and Dāsa-plays", Prof. Kundangar further observes that, "the ancient Kannada drama had its origin in the Yaksagāna, a sort of pantomime ... enacted on the stage to the accompaniment of music and dancing." <sup>3</sup> The Tuḷu dynasty seems to have introduced these 'Kathākalis' (which later on developed into Yaksagānas) in Karnāṭaka. Raghunātha Nāyak wrote the Śrī Rukmiṇīvilās." As Kundangar rightly says, <sup>4</sup> "From the 17th century onwards down to the very beginning of the 19th century the play-writers took themselves to the writing of Yaksagānas which became more and more attractive, and finally Hanumadvilāsa, Pralhāda, Gayācaritre, Draupadi-vastrāharaṇa, Bānāsura and Kṛṣṇapārijāta held the theatre-goers almost spell-bound". Further he states that, from the end of the 17th century onwards down to the present day nearly 1,500 dramas have been written, about 500 of which are preserved in the Mysore Library.

The oldest extant drama available to us is the Mitravinda-Govinda (a translation of the Sanskrit work Ratnāvalī) by Siṅgarāya (1680). Otherwise it is said that Mummaḍi-tamma-Bhūpāla is the earliest playwright.

1. cf. Iyengar, *Popular Culture in Karnataka*, pp. 106 ff.
2. Cf. Pampa, *Ādi Purāṇa*, I, 45; Ranna, *Gaḍāyuddha* (932) exhibits the stage direction; E. C., Sb. Ins. No. 28, depicts Vīra Ballāja as an actor.
3. Kundangar, '*Development of Kannada Drama*', J.B.B.R.A.S. VI, p. 314.
4. *Ibid.*

## (x) Romance

About two works of romance written in Kannada are available. Deva-Kavi (c. 1200) wrote the *Kusumāvalī* in Campū. After the fashion of Nemicandra's *Līlāvatī*, it is also a love story. Further, the *Udbhaṭakāvya* was written by Somarāja in 1222 A. D.

## (ix) Scientific Literature

It is really unique that the Kannada authors have their own say on every branch of study i.e. Science of Cooking (*Sūpasāstra*), Science of Horse, Elephant and Cow (*Aśva, Hasti* and *Go-sāstras*), Medicine, Astrology and Palmistry, Art of Love (*Smarasāstra*) etc. They have also produced wonderful works on Grammar, Prosody and Poetics.

**Grammar:** The chief works on Grammar are: the *Śabda-smṛti* and *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* by Nāgavarmā (1145), the *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa* by Keśirāja (1260), and the *Śabdānuśāsana* (1604) by Bhaṭṭakalaṅka.

**Poetics:** The following are the important works on 'Poetics': the famous work *Kavirājamārga* [by Nṛpatuṅga (or Śrī Vijaya?); *Kāvyaśāloka* (1145) by Nāgavarmā, the *Udayādityālaṅkāra* (1150) by Udayāditya, the *Mādhavālaṅkāra* (1500) by Mādhava, the *Śṛṅgāra-Ratnākara* by Kavi Kāma (1200), the *Rasaratnākara* and *Śaradāvilās* (1550) by Sāṅka, the *Narasālaṅkāra* by Timma etc.

## (xi) Other Works

Further, there are other important works like the '*Kabbigara-Kāva*' - otherwise called as '*Sobaginasuggi*', *Madanavijaya* and *Kāvana Gellu*, written by Aṇḍayya (c. 1235); and numerous translations of the original Sanskrit works such as the *Pañcatantra* etc.

## (xii) Telugu Literature

As Mr. Dutt rightly observes, "The bulk and the best part of the Telugu literature which affords the greatest delight to the minds of the Andhras, is the product of direct patronage of Vijayanagara emperors and their viceroys. It is equally a striking phenomenon, that the above literature has grown both in volume and variety



under each Vijayanagara Dynasty".<sup>1</sup> However, we shall have a brief survey of the main works produced by the Telugu poets under the shelter of the Vijayanagara emperors: (In the Saṅgama Dynasty) the Uttara-Harivamsam by Nācanna Soma, the Vikramārkacaritam by Jakkana, the Kṛiḍābhirāmam by Vinukonḍa Vallabhāmātya; (Under the Sāluvas) the Sāluvābhya-dayam by Arunagirinātha, Jaimini Bhāratam and Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam by Pina Viranna; (During the Tuḷu Dynasty) the Varāha Purānam and the translation of the Sanskrit work Prabodha-Candrodaya by the joint authors Nandi Mallayya and Ghaṇṭa Singayya, the Manucaritra by Peddanna, the Āmukta-Mālyada by the emperor Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the Pārijātāpaharaṇam by Timmana, the Rādhāmādhava by Yellaṇārya or Rādhāmādhava Kavi, the Tārakabrahmarājīyam (by the same author), the Kṛṣṇa-Arjunasaṁvādam by Gopa, the Rājaśekharacaritam by Mallana; (Under the Araviḍu Dynasty) the Vasucaritra by Rāmarāja-bhūṣaṇa, the Kalāpūrnodayam by Piṅgala Suranna, a contemporary of Shakespeare, the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya and Prabhāvatī Pradyumnam (by the same author), the Udbhaṭārādhyacaritram and Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyam by Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, and finally the Vasucaritram (1570 A. D.); (Under the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura) various Yakṣagānas on subjects like Rādhā, elopement of Tārā with Candra, Indra and Ahalyā, etc., the Śāraṅgadhara-caritram by Cāmakuru Venkaṭa-Kavi, Ahalyāsāṅkṛandanam by Venkaṭa Nāyak, the Tārā-śaśāṅkāvijayam by Venkaṭapati and finally Vijaya-raṅga-cokkanātha by Ananta Bhūpāla.

### (xiii) Histories and Biographies

The Kannada literature abounds in histories and biographies of kings, philosophers and saints, who flourished in Karnāṭaka. In fact no other province in India has really contributed to this branch of study so much as Karnāṭaka has done. We have already dealt with part of the material under the various groups above. The following are equally important in the same connection: the Kanthirava Narasārāja-Carita by Nañjakavi, the Kanthirava-Narasārāja-Vijaya by Govinda Vaidya (c. 17th Cen.), Devarāja-Vijaya by Doddā-Deva Rāya (1559-72), Cikkadevarāya-Yasobhūṣaṇa and Chikkadeva-Rāja-

1. K. Iwara Dutt, "Telugu Literature under the Vijayanagara Empire," *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, p. 33.

Vaṃśāvali (1672-1704), Maisūra Arasagaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya by Puṭṭaiya (1713) and Rājendra-nāmē (Chronicles of the Coorg Rājas) by Vira-Rājendra of Mercara (1808), and Rājāvalikathe by Devacandra (1838).

### (xiv) Sanskrit Literature

The contribution of Kannāḍigas in the field of Sanskrit literature is marvellous indeed. In fact the working of the three schools of philosophy must have acted as a direct cause for the same. All the three Ācāryas were themselves eminent writers in Sanskrit (cf. *infra*). Further their disciples also wrote a number of works in Sanskrit. Besides there were works written by others in almost all the branches of study. The Śiva, Viṣṇudharmottara, Liṅga and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas seem to have been written here. We give a brief survey of some important works: The Nalacampū of Trivikrama (10th cen. A. D.), Kavirabasya of Halāyudha, Udayasundarikathā of Sodhala, the Tattvapradīpikā of Trivikrama (late 13th Cen.), the the Sannyāyaratnāvali by Padmanābhatīrtha (late 13th Cen.), the Tattva-prakāśikā and Nyāyasudhā by Jayatīrtha (c. 1340), the Maṇi-mañjarī and Madhvavijaya by Nārāyaṇa (c. 1360), the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha of Mādhava, the Commentaries on the Ṛgveda, the Brāhmaṇas and other works by Sāyaṇa, the Candrikā, Nyāyāmṛta and Tarkatāṇḍava by Vyāsarāya, the Nītivākyāmṛta by Somadeva (10th Cen. A. D.) the Mitākṣarā by Vijñāneśvara, (in the reign of Vikramāditya (1076-1126), the Vikramāṅkadeva-carita by Bilhana, etc.

### (xv) Apabramsa Works

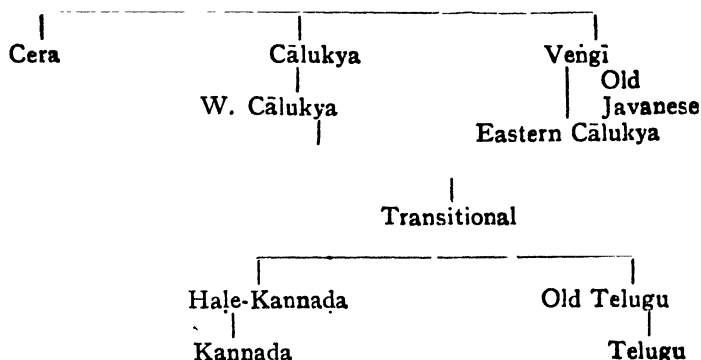
Karnāṭaka was also a seat of Apabhrāmśa language and literature. Puṣpadanta established himself at Malkhed and was working under the patronage of Bharata, the minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa or Khottiga. He wrote the following works in Apabhrāmśa: Mahāpurāṇa (965 A.D.), Nāyakumāracarīu and Zasaharacarīu. My friend Prof. Bhayani opines that Svayambhū, the great author of Paumacarīu, must have flourished in Karnāṭaka as the Kannāḍa intonation of his wife's name Sāmiyavvā indicates. A further study is necessary in this connection.

### III Appendix to Chapter VI

Burnell details the origin and development of the Kannada Epigraphy as follows :

#### S. Aśoka Character (cave)

[ The Asoka character was mainly developed, according to Rev. Heras, from the picto-phonographic inscriptions at Mohenjo Daro etc. ]



The other script which was in vogue in Karnāṭaka was the Nandi - Nāgarī. During the last fifty years or more, after Burnell published his work in 1878, many more materials have become available to us.

**Materials :** The materials used for writing consisted of stone ( cf. Royal grants, Māstīgals, Viragals, religious endowments, etc. ), palm-leaves, plates of metal including gold and silver and prepared cloth. The innovation mainly was of Karnāṭaka. The use of paper came into vogue after the 11th Cen. A.D.

**Eras :** The following Eras were used in Karnāṭaka :

- (1) Kaliyuga Era—the usually received date of the Kaliyuga being the March Equinox of 3102 B. C.
- (2) The Śaka Era.
- (3) The Vikramāditya Era.
- (4) The Cālukya Vikrama Era.

The Cycle of Bṛhaspati of sixty Samvatsaras was in vogue.

[ cf. Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, London, 1878 ]

## CHAPTER VII

### ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Some problems — Architecture — Sculpture — Music — Dancing — Painting.

#### I Introductory

As in other branches of culture, Karnāṭaka has created a unique position for itself in the field of art and architecture. The Indus Valley finds have provided us with the best specimens of art in general and temple-building in particular. In fact the representations contain all that was needed for image worship. The various representations of Śiva seated in a yōgic posture, of Śiva in a standing pose, of devotees seated on either side of the god and meditating on him, a devotee kneeling before him, the pīṭha and the prabhāvalī, indicate the most interesting features of the problem. The stūpa and the later domical design seem to be the direct development of the Megalithic tomb, which was prevalent mainly among the non-Aryan population of India. The Aryans introduced the śikhara in the temple architecture later on. Karnāṭaka made as its own both these schools and created a marvellous field for itself. It is worth noting in this connection that in ancient Karnāṭaka sometimes whole villages consisted of artizans. The inscriptions always speak of excellent engravers (*Rūvāri*), and like Hemādṣant in the Mahārāṣṭra, the names of Nīla, a vānara 'who built the sētū in the time of Rāma', and Jakaṇācārya have become house names for types of architecture in Karnāṭaka.

We have already observed above that the Kannadigas were directly responsible for the caves at Kārli, Kaṇheri, and others. In our opinion the similarity between the Bādāmi caves and those at Elephanta may induce us to believe that Pulikeśi's march to that place e.g. Purī, might have acted as an impetus to the artistic features there.

**Origin of the Temple :** It has been admitted by scholars, with the exception of V. A. Smith, that the domical stūpa is merely a development of the earthen sepulchral tumulus, the form of a tomb being naturally utilized for a structure frequently intended to conserve

bodily relics.<sup>1</sup> But Fergusson stated that the stūpa is the direct descendant of the sepulchral tumulus of the Turānian races.<sup>2</sup> Hence agreeing with the main conclusion of Fergusson we may say that the stūpa was a direct descendant of these Megalithic tombs. For such a conclusion, we get evidences from the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇic records. It is said in the Mahābhārata that on the advent of the Kali era, "they will revere eḍukas" and further, 'the world shall be piled with eḍukas.'<sup>3</sup> Dr. Kittel<sup>4</sup> is of opinion that the word Eḍuka is of Dravidian origin, it being derived from the Dravidian root *elu*, a bone; and that the word Eḍuka meant 'a wall enclosing bones'. This actually meant perhaps the Megalithic tombs themselves.

**Northern and Southern :** Added to this, the Aryans while borrowing this system of temple worship, began to add to the strength of the indigenous gods by the creation of their own gods e.g. Viṣṇu and Brahmā which are evidently of a later date. Along with the growth of mythology, we find a sudden change in the art of building also. Then comes into vogue the northern Śikhara with its Āmalaka and a design suited to the worship of their new gods Viṣṇu and Brahmā. And immediately we begin to find a difference between the Southern and the Northern temples and the stūpa. Later, all these styles developed in their own way. But Karnāṭaka pursued a different course altogether. It imbibed all that was best in all these and introduced an architectural style of its own. We shall refer to it presently.

## II Karnataka Architecture

The Karnāṭaka Architecture can be divided into the following groups., i. e, Kadamba, Cālukya, Hoysaḷa, Vijayanagara, Buddhist, Jain and Mahomedan respectively. Uptill now, scholars like Fergusson, Cousens and others wrongly designated all the Kadamba, Cālukya and Hoysaḷa styles of architecture as Cālukyan' (or 'Deccan' according to V. A. Smith). But recently Rev. Tabbard and Rev. H. Heras,<sup>5</sup> tried to isolate the Hoysaḷa style from the more generalized nomenclature 'Cālukyan' or 'Deccan'.

1. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 16.
2. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 65.
3. *Mahābhārata*, iii, 190, 65 and 67.
4. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Introduction, p. XXX.
5. H. Heras, 'Halebid', *Bengal, Past and Present*, XXXVIII, 156 ff.

Prof. Moraes drew a further distinction between the Kadamba, Cālukya and the later Hoysala styles<sup>1</sup>. In our opinion all these three different styles helped the evolution of the main Hoysala style, while still remaining distinct. We shall now give a brief survey of these styles.

### (i) The Kadambas

According to Prof. Moraes the Durgā temple at Aihole embodies 'the three distinct elements belonging to three different styles of architecture. The aspidal and the *Pradakṣiṇā* were evidently borrowed from the Caitya of the Buddhists. The curvilinear tower was likewise imitated from the Northern Śikhara and this again was modified by the horizontal stages of the Kadamba vimāna.<sup>1</sup>' Though it is very difficult to proceed in this line of investigation with a keen line of distinction as has been drawn by Prof. Moraes, still the development of this style can be perceived in the various temples: the Śaiva temple at Tālgunḍa, the temples at Kadavoli, the Haṭṭikeśvara temple at Halsi—with the perforated screens or pierced windows on either side of the door-way (a Kadamba innovation), the Kalleśvara temple at Yelvatti, the Rāmeśvara and Varāhanarasimha temple at Halsi—the latter having four panels each crowned by a Kīrtimukha (again a Kadamba innovation) and finally the famous Kamalānārāyaṇa temple at Degāmve.

### (ii) The Calukyas

As the Brāhmin Kadambas developed their style—all the while forming a fusion between the Northern and the Southern (or Nāgara and the Drāviḍa)—the Cālukyas, whose insignia bore the emblem of the Boar, did not lag far behind. Their earliest brick temple of Uttareśvara and Kāleśvara at Ter, and further the famous temples at Paṭṭadakal and the Meguṭi Jain temple at Aihole (6th Cen. A.D.) do show traces of the earlier Dravidian style they developed. Further according to Coomaraswamy: <sup>2</sup> "The Virūpākṣa temple was most likely built by workmen brought from Kāñcīpuram, and in direct imitation of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram. The main shrine is distinct from the Maṇḍapam, but has a pradakṣiṇā passage; the pillared Maṇḍapam has solid walls, with pierced stone-windows. The

1. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, pp. 304-05.

2. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 93.

square Śikhara consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. The *Caitya motifs* are much used and there are many sculptured lintels, slabs and monolithic pillars; the sculptures include representations of Śiva, Nāgas and Nāginis, and Rāmāyaṇa scenes. Like other early Dravidian temples, it is built of very large, closely-jointed blocks of stone without mortar. It is one of the best structures in India."

But with the building of the Durgā temple at Aihole we see that the Northern curvilinear tower along the Kadamba horizontal stages as gradually introduced in the Cālukya style. "The Pāpānātha temple (c. 735 A. D.) almost contemporary with the Virūpākṣa is in a different style, with a true Āryāvarta Śikhara (of early type with angular Āmalakas on every third course), and with wall-niches of corresponding form; this temple may fairly be described as a cross between the Dravidian and the Āryāvarta styles."

### (iii) The Hoysalas

All the Western and Eastern scholars have expressed their admiration about these marvellous and beautiful Hoysala architectural buildings. The following are the main characteristics of the Hoysala style.

**The Star-Shape:** Thus, as shown above, the early Kadamba and Cālukyan temples are always 'square and quadrangular' in shape; but in the Hoysala period the '*star-shaped*' form begins to appear. In the meanwhile, the Keśava temple at Hirekadalur (Hasan Taluka) the Cennakeśava temple at Honnavara, the Viranārāyaṇa temple at Belavaḍi show the transitional stages from the Cālukyan to the Hoysala style of architecture.<sup>1</sup>

**Conglomeration of Shrines:** As Father Heras rightly observes, '(one of the peculiarities of the Hoysala style is) the conglomeration of shrines in the same temple; three, four or sometimes five shrines, forming in most cases a cruciform temple — Examples: Keśava temple of Somanāthapur (a triple shrine) and the Kadambeśvara temple at Hirekerur (Dharwar Dist.)<sup>2</sup>

1. H. Heras, 'Halēbidī,' *Bengal, Past and Present*, XXXVIII, p. 161.

2. Ibid.

**Vimana:** As observed above, the early Kadamba *Vī* consisting of a square pyramid crowned by a *Kalāśa* is appropriated by the Hoysala architects and given a star-shape by means of adding gorgeously profused ornamentations in later centuries e.g. *līvara* temple at Arasikere, and the *Keśava* temple at Somanāthapūr.

**Pillars and Ceilings:** No two pillars of the Hoysala temples are similar to each other. Further, we shall discuss about the pendant lotus flowers in the Kadamba *Vimānas* later on.

**Kirtimukha & Screens:** cf. under Sculpture.

#### (iv) The Vijayanagara Style

As Dr. Coomaraswamy<sup>1</sup> observes: "The chief peculiarities of the style are as follows: the full evolution of the pendant lotus bracket takes place; the monolith columns unite to the main straight sided shaft a number of slender cylindrical "*columnnettes*" with bulbous capitals, the roll cornice is doubly carved, the corners having upward pointing projects, the underside repeating the details of wooden constructions. The pillar caryatides, whether rearing lions or *Yālīs* (*Gajasimhas*) are products of a wild phantasy; at the end of the sixteenth century rearing horses are also found, provided with fighting riders and groups of soldiers below, but these are more especially a feature of the Madurā style. Enclosing walls and basements are decorated with continuous reliefs representing epic and festival themes."

The best examples of the style are: the Vijaya-Viṭṭhala temple with its most beautiful Kalyāṇa-Maṇḍapa (begun in 1513 A. D. and left unfinished), the Kadalikālu Gaṇeśa temple (one of the most elegant temples of India), the Hazār Rāmāyaṇa temple and the temples at Tāḍpatrī.

#### (v) Civil Architecture

There is a single piece of civil architecture belonging to the Vijayanagara period. Coomaraswamy observes<sup>2</sup>, that the remains of palaces and connected buildings consist partly of Indo-Sarcenic structures of which the Lotus Mahāl is the best example, combining Hindu roof and cornices with Mahomedan arches and the massive

1. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 124.

2. *Ibid*, p. 123-24.



stone platforms or basements which are supported by elaborate wooden superstructure covered with gilt copper-plates. Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's 'Dasarā Dibba' is also equally famous in this connection.

### (vi) Caves

The kingdom ruled over by the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas comprised of the territory occupied by the following: the caves at Aurangabad, Ajantā, Ellorā, Bādāmi and Aihole:—The Aurangabad (6th-7th Cen. A. D.) Buddhist Caves are more or less excavated pillared maṇḍapams, within which is installed the figure of Buddha in a *pralambāsana* posture.

At Ajantā Caves Nos. I-V and XXI-XXVI, of which XXV is a Caitya, consist of Vihāras. Caves Nos. I and II contain the finest specimen of sculpture. Further, Caves Nos. IV and XXIV contain halls of 28 and 20 pillars respectively. There are four caves at Bādāmi (two Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and the fourth Jain). They are very nicely preserved. Further there are two caves at Aihole (Jain and Śaiva).

Ellora: The Brahmanical Caves i. e. the Das Avatāra, Rāvankā-khai, Dumar Lena and Rāmeśvara are of special interest.

**Kailasanatha Temple:** The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I (758-772) built the Kailāsanātha rock-cut shrine at Ellorā 'which may be a copy of the Pāpanātha at Pattadakal.' It is a glorious piece of architecture.

### (vii) The Jain Temples

The Jain buildings consist mainly of the Beṭṭas, Basadis and the monasteries. "The term Beṭṭa is applied to a special form of shrine consisting of a court-yard open to the sky, with cloisters round about and in the centre a colossal image, not of a Tīrthaṅkara, but of a saint".<sup>1</sup> The image of Gommateśvara on the Doddabeṭṭa hill (Śravaṇa Belgola) and the other image at Kavanr are famous. Besides the many Basadis of the Jains, their temples at Halebidu (near Mangalore, Kanara District) have a peculiar feature of their own. As Coomaraswamy observes, "The style belongs to the end of the kings of Vijayanagara, and is characterized by its sloping roof of flat overlapping slabs, and a peculiar kind of stone screen enclosing

1. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

the sides, recalling a Buddhist railing. The nearest analogy for the sloping roofs is found in the Himalayan forms, and some authors have assumed a connection of style between Kannada and Nepal.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, it is also possible as Dr. Coomaraswamy would suggest it, 'more likely similar conditions have produced similar forms'.

### (viii) Mahomedan Architecture

The various mosques and tombs at Gulbarga, Golconda and Bijapur, which according to Havell are only a development of the Hindu style, have attracted the attention of every visitor. About the Bijapur architecture the eminent scholar Fergusson observes,<sup>2</sup> "It is not easy now to determine how far this originality arose from the European descent of the 'Adil Shahis and their avowed hatred of everything that belonged to the Hindus, or whether it arose from any local circumstances, the value of which we can now hardly appreciate."

The famous Jami Masjid, the tombs of Ibrahim II, Muhammad, the Āsar-i-Mubārak, the Mihitārī Mahāl and the tomb of Muhammad Quli (at Golconda) are some of the famous edifices of the day. Especially the Domes are of great structural beauty.

### III. Karnataka Sculpture

"In the elder days of Art,  
Builders wrought with greatest care,  
Each minute and unseen part;  
For the Gods see everywhere."

Such is the quotation given by Cousens while describing the beauties of the Halebidū temple. In fact we shall not be far from the truth if we say that the foremost contribution of Karnāṭaka to the world culture lies mainly in the field of architecture. As we have remarked above, Karnāṭaka brought about a fusion of the Northern and the Southern. Whereas, in the North the early Bhāraṣivas and the Vākāṭakas, and later the Guptas brought about a new and vital change in the atmosphere and created wonderful specimens of art in an Aryan atmosphere, the southerners in the South were trying to preserve and foster the best of the pre-Aryan ideals. But the various dynasties of Karnāṭaka assimilated the best elements of these two and created a beautiful whole of their own. The sculptures of the period may be divided into the following groups: (1) The

1. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

2. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 268.

Kadamba period; (2) the Cālukya period; (3) The Hoysala period; and (4) the Vijayanagara period and after. Besides this the Buddhists, Jains and the Mahomedans added their own share towards the enrichment of the Karnāṭaka sculpture. All the artistic remains in Karnāṭaka consist of the decorative, figure and portrait sculptures. We have already summarised above the results of the excavations at Kolhāpūr.

**Kadambas:** Besides the earlier productions at Sorab Taluka, Halsi and Degāmve and Hāngal, we may say that the image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at Halsi is remarkable for the majesty of its pose and the elegance of its carving.<sup>1</sup> The images of the Kadamba period are both in 'dynamic and static poses' e. g. the figure of Durgā in the Sorab Taluka, and the Madanikās and dancing girls sculptured in the Degamve temple.<sup>2</sup>

**Calukyas:** The caves at Ajantā and Bādāmī, and the temples at Paṭṭadakal and Aihole form the main structures of the period. The caves at Bādāmī, the Kāmeśvara cave at Ellorā, the facade and the capitals of the pillars in caves Nos. I and XXIV at Ajantā, the Durgā and Virūpākṣa temples at Aihole contain marvellous specimens in sculpture. Havell says that the Dās Avatāra Cave at Ellorā: "is the example of the finest period of Hindu Sculpture".<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the figures of Viṣṇu (Cave No. III), Virāṭarūpa and Vāmana Avatāra (Cave No. II), Ardhanārīśvara at Bādāmī, and Nārāyaṇa at Aihole are the finest representations in this connection. In regard to the last Havell has aptly pointed out that, "it is an unusual representation of Nārāyaṇa in the snake world of cosmic ocean, seated in the pose of 'royal ease' on the coils of Ananta but with four arms bearing only the *cakra* and war trumpet. Two graceful Nāginis, the snake goddesses, whose magic powers and seductive charms play a great part in Indian folk-lore, flieeth lightly as butterflies round the deity bringing their offerings. The playful rhythm of their sinuous serpentine bodies, drawn by a most accomplished hand, fill the whole sculpture with the scene of supreme delight which is said to belong to Viṣṇu's paradise."

1. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 313.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

3. cf. also Chitaguppi, *Ms.*

**Hoysalas :** The Hoysala sculpture is well-known for its Madanakai or bracket figures, the Dvārapālas or gate-guardians, the images of the shrines and the figures of the walls.

Especially the figures (on the brackets) representing dancing girls and in some cases different deities are interesting. They are extremely realistic and graceful.<sup>1</sup> Further, after the fashion of the Buddhists and the Cālukyas, the Hoysalas also adopted the device of introducing the Dvārapālas in their sculpture. As Fr. Heras observes: "the only dress of the Dvārapālas consists of jewels, but those are in such a profuse magnificence that the whole body is practically covered".<sup>2</sup> The Hoysala images of gods are in a static pose. The image in the Keśava temple at Kausika is very beautiful. The Kīrtimukha is the main contribution of this period. The most striking portion in these temples is that of the images on the walls. Rev. H. Heras says, "The rear of the Hoysala temples, specially those at Sōmanāthapūr and Halebid are completely covered with images and carvings. The upper portion presents images of gods and goddesses, musicians, dancing girls, heroes, etc. Needless to say that the perfection of details one finds in these images is a real wonder, and it is a pity indeed that such minutely detailed images are placed so high for one is not able to appreciate them properly. Some of those statues bear the name of the sculptor at their base."<sup>3</sup>

**Rayas of Vijayanagara :** The Rāyas of Vijayanagara tried their utmost to spread Hinduism through every nook and corner in Karnāṭaka. Whether through painting, sculpture or architecture, they saw that the various images of gods were either painted or hewn out in every part of the realm. The images of Narasimha or that of Gaṇapati at Hampi may corroborate our statement. The Viṭṭhalaswāmī temple moreover consists of the best scenes which were equally interesting. "On the walls of temples or of other buildings was displayed the sculpture of the Vijayanagara craftsmen. Probably in the whole range of South Indian sculpture it would be difficult to find a match to vie with the variety of Vijayanagara sculpture. In order to prove this, one should go primarily to

1. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Vijayanagara not to mention Srīsaīlam, Vellore or Mudabidri or even Bhaṭkaḷ, where are unravelled in stone a social history of this age. Take Vijayanagara for example, and in it the House of Victory. Here can be seen prancing monkeys in unimaginable shapes, kings receiving embassies, queens as well as their husbands witnessing a dancing match, noblemen hunting in the forest either the wild deer or hogs or boars, on horseback or on foot, women looking in the mirror or dancing girls in action, captives brought before the king and a variety of other topics. They are drawn with a caricaturistic touch, pregnant with realism, vitality and power. The obvious heaviness of Hoysaḷa sculpture, especially of the horses, for instance, which one notices at Halebīḍ or at Dvārasamudra, is conspicuous by its absence in Vijayanagara sculpture of this period. The deer, the dogs, the prancing horses or the marching soldiers look alive instinct with life, vigour and freshness which are unforgettable."<sup>1</sup>

Apart from this, especially the images of Kṛṣṇadevarāya do witness to the excellence of Vijayanagara craftsmen.

**Jain Sculpture:** The Jain sculpture of the period is also equally varied. Especially the Mānastambhas or Brahmadevastambhas containing figures of Jina or Brahmā on their capitals are interesting. Besides this the figures of Gommaṭeśvara (56 feet high) on the top of the hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa has attracted the attention of many. "The face of Gommaṭa is remarkable for its serene expression, the hair curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head while the ears are long and large...Though not elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive splendour."<sup>2</sup>

#### IV Music

The Kannaḍa theatre and music thrived together in a unique manner. Besides the evidence obtaining in the epigraphic records, art and architecture of the period, we get sufficient information from the Kannaḍa literature in regard to the development of music in Karnāṭaka.

The Kannaḍa authors have written independent works on music e.g. *Sāraṅgadeva*, *Kālinātha*, *Rāmāmātya*, *Somanātha*,

1. *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 202.

2. Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, p. 245.

Veṅkaṭamakhi and Tulajā Rājendra. Besides these Bhavabhaṭṭa wrote three works i. e. the Anupa - Saṅgīta - Ratnākara, the Anupa - Saṅgīta - Vilāsa and the Anupāṅkuṣa. The earliest author is Śaraṅgadeva ( between 1227 A.D. and 1240 A.D. ) employed in the court of the Yādava king Siṅghana. Purandaradāsa wrote the Pillarigīte. Further the famous work on the subject is of Puṇḍalīka e.g. Rāgamañjari.

Some of the master musicians of Karnāṭaka also went to the courts of the Northern Emperors. The famous of them were Gopāla Nāyaka from Daulatabad and Puṇḍalīka Viṭhala. They were entertained in the courts of Allauddin Khilji and Burhan Khan respectively. Janārdanabhaṭṭa adorned the court of Shah Jahan.

The kings of Karnāṭaka were the greatest patrons of music. Further, kings like Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa were themselves well-versed in the *Saptāṅga*.<sup>1</sup> The Raghunāthābhyudayam also refers to the Karnāṭaka and Deśī music. The Raghunāthābhyudayam states that, the chief Rāgas in vogue then were *Jayamaṅgala*, *Siṃhalalola* etc., and that the tālas to which they were played were *Ratilīlā*, *Turaṅgalīlā*, *Raṅgābharaṇa*, *Anaṅgaparikramaṇa*, *Abhinandana*, *Nanda-nandana* and *Abhimāla*, and that one of the forms of dancing was called as Raghunāthavilāsa.

The following instruments are enumerated in many of the epigraphic and literary records : Viṇā, Yāl, Maddale, Damaruga, Mahāmuraḥ, Turya, Nirghoṣaṇa, Trivaḥ, Mṛdaṅga, Kaḥaḥ, Śaṅkha, Bheri, Paṭaha, Ghaṇṭe, Kausala etc.

## V Dancing

The Kannāḍigas have also contributed a good deal in regard to the art of dancing. The Raghunāthābhyudayam refers to the different varieties of dancing (cf. *Supra*). Even some of the kings of Karnāṭaka are known as the best masters of dancing. The institution of the Devadāsīs must be specially mentioned in this connection.

## VI Painting

A succinct study has still to be made in regard to the history of painting in Karnāṭaka. Though the workmanship in Vijayanagara

1. J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 252.

and Bādāmi does not survive to-day, still the best of the paintings are still obtainable at Ajantā, Ellora, Sittannavāṣal, Kāñcī, Māmand-pūr, Tirumalaipuram, Tiruvañjikulam and Tanjore.

The representations at Ajantā (30° 32' N, 75° 46' E) in tempera and fresco constitute 'the most important mass of ancient painting extant in the world.' They generally run over a very vast period of about seven centuries e.g. between the first century of the Christian era to about 642 A.D. Caves Nos. IX, X, XIX and XXVI are Churches (Caityas) and the remaining are all monastic residences or Vihāras. There is a great likelihood that the caves along with the paintings must have been built under the patronage of the Sātavāhanas, Vākātakas and the early Cālukyas. Apart from the representations of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, the other attractive scenes are the love scene (Cave I), the picture of fighting bulls (I), the seated woman (IX), the six-tusked elephant (V), Rājā and woman (IX), the standing Buddha on pillar (X), long-tailed monkeys (XVII), woman carrying child (XVII), mother and child making an offering to Buddha (XIX), and the woman standing (II).

Fergusson opined that 'he had never seen anything in China approaching its (Ajantā) perfection.' Vincent A. Smith has rightly observed that, the paintings stand the unfair test wonderfully well, and excite respectful admiration as the production of painters capable of deep emotion, full of sympathy with the nature of men, women, children, animals and plants, endowed with masterly powers of execution<sup>1</sup>. Griffiths does full justice to the subject when he expresses that, 'In spite of its obvious limitations, I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design, beautiful form and colour, that I cannot help ranking it with some of the early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy. The Ajantā workmanship is admirable; long subtle curves are drawn with great precision in a line of unvarying thickness with one sweep of the brush; the touch is often bold and vigorous the handling broad, and in some cases the impasto is as solid as in the best Pompeian work ... The draperies, too, are thoroughly understood, and though the folds may be somewhat conventionally drawn, they express most thoroughly the peculiarities of the Oriental

1. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 291.

treatment of unsewn cloth .... Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers with bloom, birds which soar, and beasts that spring, or bright, or patiently carry burdens, all are taken from Nature's work - growing after her pattern, and in this respect differing entirely from Muham-maden art, which is unreal, unnatural, and, therefore, incapable of development."<sup>1</sup>

**Ellora :** The most important frescoes were found in the ceiling of the Ranga Mahāl (8th Cen. onwards). The earliest painting is reminiscent of Ajantā, but rather less sensitive; the latter is decidedly inferior.<sup>2</sup> Especially the representations of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī riding through the clouds, borne by Garudas, as well as that of a rider upon a horned lion and many pairs of Gandharvas or Vidyādharas are of immense interest.

The main credit should go to the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., for pointing out the importance of the Araviḍu Dynasty which rendered its help towards the development of art in Karnāṭaka. The account of Domingo Paes<sup>3</sup> and other foreign travellers refer to the paintings on the walls of the Royal Palaces, but none of them have survived to the present day.

The temples of Lepākṣī<sup>4</sup> and Bṛhadīśvara<sup>5</sup> contain very fine specimens of painting. In the Lepākṣī temple the Ardhamandapa consists of the most beautiful panels consisting of the painting of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, that of Śiva and Candikeśvara-Śiva as Gourīprasādhaka, or the scene of Anantatāṇḍava of Naṭeśa. The temple of Bṛhadīśvara also contains marvellous specimens of painting.

1. Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Caves at Ajanta*, pp. 7-9.

2. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

3. Cf. *Viṣayanagara Commemoration Volume*, p. 91.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 87 ff.



## CHAPTER VIII

### PHILOSOPHY, MYSTICISM AND RELIGION

The main Landmarks—Philosophies of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva—The Dāsakūṭa—Vīraśaivism—Religion and Religious sects.

Karnāṭaka is predominantly a land of Religion and Philosophy. During the historic period, we find that Karnāṭaka reared the three of the greatest systems of Indian philosophy, namely, those of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva respectively. It is in this land again that the two Northern philosophical systems viz., Buddhism and Jainism drew inspiration—even from the point of view of material support—and just to build its mighty empire elsewhere in China, Japan, Java and other places, in the case of the former; and in the case of the latter, to remain in this land permanently deep-rooted only to prosper and prosper evermore. Besides these, the three famous schools of devotion of the Haridāsas (popularly known as 'Dāsakūṭa'), the Vīraśaivas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas came into being; and as if to compete with their contemporary institutions in other parts of India, they have all the while tried to rejuvenate the masses with the spirit of universal love and god-head.

#### I The Main Landmarks

The recent discoveries in the Indus Valley sites have really opened a new vista for the historian. In our opinion these discoveries definitely possess possibilities of acting as a silver line between the Vedic and the pre-Vedic and thus change the whole outlook of scholarship. Certainly new streams of thought will surcharge the whole atmosphere and they shall help us to give a correct perspective in regard to the origin of the history of gods and goddesses, religious superstitions and beliefs, and the mystical notions in man.

**The Four Periods :** In the light of the above remarks, the history of Indian philosophy and religion can be divided into four periods,<sup>1</sup> namely, ( 1 ) Proto-Indian Period; ( 2 ) Vedic Period; ( 3 ) Purāṇic Period; and ( 4 ) the Period of Mysticism.

1. cf. A. P. Karmakar and N. B. Kalamdant, *Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka*. Here is an improved version of the same.

During these periods, all the systems of philosophy, mysticism and religion prospered side by side or alternately, and this rich cultural tradition has been handed down to us even to this day. To sum up briefly: 1. *Pr-Vedic Period*: During the first period the Mīnas and probably the Ābhīras (derived from the Dravidian root Āyir) seem to have fostered the cult of the Śiva and Raṅga. We, however, get definite information in regard to the worship of the Divine Triad Śiva, Pārvatī and Kārttikeya, the Sun, Linga, and tree respectively. The idea of life after death and especially of reaching the world of Śiva was in vogue.<sup>1</sup> 2. *Vedic Period*: From the period of R̥gveda onwards down to that of the Upaniṣads – the various ideas of the world, creation and later those of Brahman and Ātman came into being. The cult of sacrifice also takes a definite shape. The idea of rebirth and Karma and all the rudimentary notions of philosophy come into vogue. During the fag-end of this period the mighty doctrine of Buddhism and Jainism swayed the minds of the people. 3. *Purāṇic Period or Religio-Philosophic period*: This is the period of consolidation in its true sense. The Hindus marshal all their forces by producing the Gītā, the Brahmasūtras and all the six Darśanas, and later build a full mythology through the Purāṇic literature. Side by side with these the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās and the Śaiva Āgamas as well as the Nārada Bhakti and Śaṇḍilya Sūtras come into being. Śāktism takes deep root into the minds of the people. Buddhism and Jainism also build their empires based on logic, mythology and religion. 4. *Period of Mysticism*: Hinduism receives a new impetus at the hands of Śaṅkara and his successors. And all the saints of India, mainly drawing inspiration from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have created various schools of mysticism.

Though much of the past of Karnāṭaka is shrouded in mystery its contribution to Indian philosophy and religion since the time of Śaṅkara is much more known and definite.

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1. H. Heras, 'Religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the Inscriptions', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 1-29.

## II The Three Systems of Philosophy

### (1) *Life-stories of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva*

#### **Saṅkara :**

Śaṅkara seems to have flourished in the 8th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> The sources of his biography are the Śaṅkara-digvijaya of Mādhavācārya and Śaṅkara-vijaya of Ānandatīrtha. Śaṅkara was born either at Kāladi (acc. to Mādhavācārya) or at Cidambarapuram (Ānandagiri), both the places being situated in the Kerala country (Malabar coast). His father's name was Śivaguru according to Mādhavācārya. But Ānandagiri states Viśvajit and Viśiṣṭā as being his parents' names.

Śaṅkara carried a dialectical controversy through the whole of India, especially the one with Maṇḍana Miśra being very well known.

He established four Maṭhas, namely, at Śrīgeri, Dwārakā, Jyotir-maṭha at Badarikāśrama, and Govardhana-maṭha at Puri. There is a Sannyāsin at the head of every Maṭha who has the title of Śaṅkarācārya, along with which he uses his original name. All the Maṭhas exercise every moral influence upon the people of Śaṅkara's creed throughout India.

His main works are: Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, commentary on the ten principal Upaniṣads, the Brahma-sūtra-Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya, the Viṣṇu-sahasra and the Sanat-sujātiya, Viveka-cūdāmaṇi, Upadeśa-sāhasrī, Aparoksānubhūti, Ātmabodha, Śataśloki, Moha-mudgara and other minor works i.e. Śaṭpadī, Stotras of Devī and other deities.

#### **Ramanuja :**

It was in the year 1017 A.D. at Perambudur (near Madras) that the young Rāmānuja was born. His father's name is Keśavabhaṭṭa. Rāmānuja married Kāntimatī, the grand-daughter of Yāmunācārya. In his early years he studied under the Advaitic teacher Yādava-prakāśa. Later a conflict is said to have arisen

1. Telang tries to place him in the 7th century; Sir R. G. Bhandarkar proposes 680 A. D. as the date of Śaṅkara's birth (cf. Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1883, p. 157); Max Müller and Prof. Macdonell opine that the birthdate is 788 A. D. (also cf. Phatak, I.A. XI, 1882, pp. 174 ff.).

between Yādeva-prakāśa and his young disciple—only depend the latter in the former's being converted as the first disciple of the school of Rāmānuja. Yāmunācārya died while Rāmānuja was still young. Still Rāmānuja was invited to adorn the pontifical throne of this great Muni,

Soon afterwards Rāmānuja came under the influence of one Kāñcīpūrṇa, a non-Brahmin disciple of Yāmunācārya, and who was a devotee of the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñci—on account of which there was a sudden turn in Rāmānuja's career. Afterwards he visited almost all the parts of India with his new ideas and new creed, established a Maṭha at Puri; settled the dispute in regard to the nature of the image of Tirupati; and was back again to Conjeeveram.

Very soon afterwards, he had to fly away into Mysore on account of the policy of persecution of the ruler of the land, namely, Kulottuṅga Coja. On this way he made many halts and converted many, among whom was his famous disciple Āndhrapūrṇa, who has written a work called Yātirājamārga consisting mainly of the biography of Rāmānuja. During his stay at Tonnur, his magnificent victory may be said to have consisted of mainly the conversion of the Jain King Biṭṭideva, later known as Viṣṇuvardhana, into his own creed. There is a Maṭha or monastery of Rāmānuja at Melkoṭe.

During his stay at Mysore, he built the temples of Tirunārāyaṇa at Melkoṭe, and also set up various temples at Belūr and other places in 1117 A.D. to all of which he admitted the Pañcamas on festive occasions. He also allowed the Sātānis in his creed <sup>1</sup>.

The main works of this famous Yātirāja are:

1. Vedānta-saṁgraha 2. Śrī-Bhāṣya 3. Vedāntasāra 4. Vedānta-Dīpikā, 5. Gītā-Bhāṣya and other works. It is said that he wrote some of these with the help of his disciple Kūrattālvār. After Kulottuṅga's death, he returned to the land of his birth, and living a life of full 120 years, he is said to have retired from this world in 1137 A.D.

### **Madhvācārya :**

Madhvācārya was born in or about 1238 A.D. He was born of a Brahmin father named Madhyageha-bhaṭṭa at Rajatapīṭha (or

1. Farquhar, *Religious Literature of India*, p. 245.

Pājaka) near Uḍipi, (at Kalyāṇpur according to another version) which is situated at a distance of about 40 miles due west of Srīgeri.

Madhva studied under Acyutaprekṣa, who presided over a Maṭha at Bhaṇḍakere and who is said to have written a commentary on the Brahmasūtras. Thus, Madhvācārya seems to have owed not a little to this great Ācārya.

Madhva travelled through the whole of India twice. On the east of Madras, he converted many into his creed, among whom was the famous Naraharitīrtha, a Daftardar in the Gañjam Province, but later a regent of the infant king of Orissa. It was from the treasury of this king that Naraharitīrtha took the images of Rāma and Sītā and handed over the same to Madhva, who installed them in his Maṭha; and they are worshipped even to this day <sup>1</sup>.

Madhvācārya is also known by his other names Madhya-mandāra, Pūrṇa-prajña and Ānandatīrtha. He is said to be an incarnation of Vāyu, after Hanumān and Bhīma.

He is said to have founded his chief Maṭha at Uḍipi, and two others at Madhyatala and Subrahmaṇya respectively. He also divided the main Maṭha into eight sub-monasteries 'to each of which he gave a swāmin'. The worship of Kṛṣṇa is compulsory in these Maṭhas. There are now eighteen sub-sects. 'The Mādhvas are spread mainly in the Kannaḍa Districts of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore, [the western coast from Goa to South Kanara, and in Northern India.'

The main sources of his biography are the Maṇimañjari and Madhvavijaya written by one Nārāyaṇa and his father Trivikrama separately. The latter has written 'Vāyu-stuti' which also throws light on Madhva's life and teachings.

Madhva was also a lover of music. He wrote 32 works, the main of them being: Gītā-Bhāṣya, Gītā-tātparyā-nirṇaya, Aṇu-vyākhyāna, Sūtra-Bhāṣya, Aṇu-Bhāṣya, commentary on the Upaniṣads, Dvādāśa-tātparyā-nirṇaya, Viṣṇu-tattva-nirṇaya, Tattva-Saṁkhyāna, Tattva-viveka, Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana, Upādhikhaṇḍana, the ten Prakaraṇas, Ekādaśī-nirṇaya and others. Madhvācārya retired from this world in 1317 A. D.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Viṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* p. 82.

## (2) Their Common Features

It is a unique instance in history indeed that these logical acrobats should have also been the propounders of the three basic streams of thought upon which probably the science of philosophy itself builds its mighty little empires. But though they differ mainly in regard to the problem of the inter-relation of the three entities, namely, God, World and the Individual Self, yet as having taken root in the same Aupanisada doctrines, one finds that there is much that is similar in them. The real contribution of Karnāṭaka in the past should still remain a mystery-though since the time of Śaṅkara onwards it has shown definite capacities of taking the whole world into a higher atmosphere of thought, only to rise and rise evermore. The philosophy of Kant and the doctrine of relativity of Einstein ( in the field of Physics ) have something in common with the doctrine of Śaṅkara - which fact alone shows the mighty genius of this great personage. The doctrines of Rāmānuja and Madhva also have endowed the religious mind with something positive; and thus the religious fervour imbibed by the people of Karnāṭaka and other parts of India is mainly due to the efforts made by these Ācāryas.

All these philosophical systems seem to possess a common background. All these take the aid of the *Prasthānatrayī* ( i.e. the ten Upaniṣads, Gītā and the Bādarāyaṇa-sūtras). They accept Intuition, Scriptures and Inference, as the main sources of Knowledge. They believe in Karma and rebirth and many of these propound both the Mokṣa and the condition of Jīvanmukti. Like Buddhism and Jainism they base their doctrines on a definite background of ethics and consequently the three modes of life, Jñāna, Karma and Bhakti respectively. Śaṅkara alone tries to get out of the clutches of all these with the help of his peculiar doctrine of transcendental idealism. Till then, he allows people to follow all these which are only true till the period of realization. Thus it can be easily perceived that these three philosophies possess much that is common with the remaining Darśanas also i.e. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā; and with Buddhism and Jainism in the same manner.

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1. Cf. the oft-quoted stanza :

Īśa-Kena-Kaṭha-Prasna-Muṇḍa-Māṇḍukya-Tittirīḥ | Aitareyam ca  
Chandogyaṃ Bṛhadāraṇyakam tathā.

### (3) The Doctrine of Śaṅkara

Śaṅkara was really an epoch-making philosopher of the age. Being himself strongly imbued with the spirit of Hinduism, he clearly visualized the forces of the doctrine of the 'Negative void' of Nāgārjuna and the working of the system of Buddhism and Jainism on the mind of the masses; and seeing chaos abroad, he gave a deadly blow to these heterodox systems by cutting, like his great successor in Germany i.e. Kant, the Gordian knot of empirical reality and transcendental ideality.<sup>1</sup> In doing so, he has created a positive entity like Brahman in the place of the 'Negative void' of Nāgārjuna. In fact his main contribution to Indian philosophy is his theories of Māyā, vivarta and that of the distinction between empirical reality (Vyāvahārika) and transcendental ideality (Pāramārthika). As Dr. Radhakrishnan would very aptly sum up, "For Śaṅkara, as for the greatest thinkers of the world, Plato and Plotinus, Spinoza and Hegel, philosophy is the austere vision of eternal truth, majestic in its freedom from the petty cares of man's paltry life"<sup>2</sup>. Let us now enter into the details of his doctrine.

The philosophy of Śaṅkara may be summed up in a nut-shell :

**'Brahma Satyam Jagan Mithya Jivo Brahmaiva Naparah'** thus indicating that 'Brahman (alone) is true; the world false, and the Jīvas (have no existence) as apart from the Brahman'.

In fact as opposed to the doctrine of relativity and 'negative void' of Nāgārjuna, Śaṅkara propounded that Brahman is the Supreme Being in this universe. It is a positive entity, pure, eternal and intelligent; but possessed of no attributes.

Further, mainly drawing inspiration from Gaudapāda, he says that there is nothing apart from Brahman in this world. The very notion of the empirical reality and transcendental ideality, or of cause and effect, or; subject and object are due to the working of Illusion (Māyā). The Avidyā forms a natural companionship (Svābhāvikī) with Brahman and is a cause for all this. In fact the superimposition (Adhyāsa) of the untruth upon the true nature of things (cf. Rajju-sarpa-nyāya or Rajatasūktikānyāya) gives rise to the doctrine of

1. Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, p. 1.

2. Radhakrishnan, *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 447.

the *Vivarta-vāda* as against the *Paripñamavāda* or *Satkāryavāda* of the *Sāṃkhya*s.

Śaṅkara has refuted all the other doctrinaires, i. e. the *Naiyāyikas*, the *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Buddhists*, *Jains*, the *Pāsupatas* and others.

The main criterion of Truth, according to Śaṅkara is self-realization (Anubhava). All the others assume a subordinate position to this. On account of this the nature of mokṣa or *summum bonum* of life also becomes two-fold, namely, esoteric and exoteric. This realization can take place in the *Samādhi* or *Turiyāvasthā* (or state of meditation) and not in the other three (*Jāgrti*, *svapna* and *suṣupti*). It is till then that the world of distinctions as formed of Name and Form (cf. *Brahmasūtras*, *Bhāṣya* II, i, 14) subject and object, cause and effect, have some existence. Till then the existence of *Īśvara* becomes a possibility and the process of creation, permanence and destruction of the world has got an existence of its own. But when Anubhava begins to reign supreme all these vanish like a mirage in a dreary forest.

Śaṅkara has also created a due place for all the three modes of life i. e. *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* respectively. But he does not give any primary importance to the same, as he does so in the case of self-realization.

#### (4) The Doctrine of Ramanuja

As has been very aptly expressed by A. Berriedale Keith, "The essential contribution of Rāmānuja to Indian thought was the effort to develop in a complete system, in opposition to the unpromising Advaitism of Śaṅkara, a philosophical basis for the doctrine of devotion to God (*Bhakti*), which was presented in poetical form in the hymns (*Prabandhas*) of the *Ālvārs*." It should be also noted in this connection that, along with the mighty courage he received from Yāmunācārya, Rāmānuja also took the aid of various works to propound his new doctrine i. e. the commentary of Bodhāyana and the works of Ṭanka, Dramiḍa, Gubadeva, Kapardin and Bhāṇḍi respectively.



## The Religious Teaching of Ramanuja in a Tabular Form

\* \* \*

Brahman = Nārāyaṇa (The Highest - Para)  
(Manifests himself in five forms.  
Abode Vaikuṇṭha.)

1. His Consorts: Lakṣmī (Prosperity), Bhū (Earth) and Līlā (Sport). In Vaikuṇṭha are also the delivered souls.	2. The three or four Vyūhas (after the addition of Vāsudeva)	3. The Ten Avatāras	4. Antaryāmin (dwells within the heart)
1. Saṁkāraṇa possesses knowledge (Jñāna) and power (Bala)	2. Pradyumna possesses wealth (Aiśvarya) and vigour (Vīrya)	3. Aniruddha possesses creative power (Śakti) (Tejas)	4. Vāsudeva when added as a fourth Vyūha, possesses all the six qualities.

Unlike the tenets of Śaṅkara the doctrine of Rāmānuja creates a distinction between the three entities, God, world and the individual self. His doctrine may be compared to that of a pumpkin and its contents. The seeds and the chaff in it, according to the notion of Rāmānuja, may become the individual souls and the world. They are distinct from the pumpkin itself still remaining within it. Even so, the philosophical entities Brahman, the world and the individual souls are real, eternal, distinct - but still remaining within the Brahman itself, which is possessed of attributes or qualities.

In the Praḷaya condition the Brahman is in the causal state (Kāraṇāvasthā). 'From this condition the universe develops by the will of God.' All the souls will take different forms and bodies according to their past Karma (action, deed). When the creation adopts its full-fledged state the Brahman occupies the state of an effect (Kāryāvasthā). Thus Rāmānuja accepts the Parīṇāmavāda.

'The individual souls, which are a mode of the supreme soul and entirely dependant upon and controlled by it, are nevertheless real, eternal, endowed with intelligence and self-consciousness, without *parts, unchanging, imperceptible* and *atomic* (Brahma-sūtra II, ii, 19-32). Such a doctrine also necessitated a division of souls in their different stages of attainment. Rāmānuja has, however, classified them as (1) Eternal (*nitya*) like Garuḍa and Ananta; (2) Released, *Mukta*; and (3) Bound (*Baddha*).

The doctrine of Bhakti (Devotion) has a prominent place in the doctrine of Rāmānuja; and the other two Jñāna and Karma assume a subordinate position - they forming merely preparatory stages leading to Bhakti, which is an intuitive perception of God. He also adds to the same two more elements i. e. of Prapatti (complete submission) and Ācāryābhimānayaḡa' (under the complete control of the preceptor).

His system of the Vyūhas is explained in the adjoining Table. (cf. also *infra* 'Religion'). He always makes use of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa in support of his arguments.

### (5) The Doctrine of Madhva

The doctrine of Madhva can be beautifully summarized through an oft-quoted stanza composed by Vyāsārāya :

श्रीमन्मध्वमते हरिः परतरस्सत्यं जगत्तत्त्वतो

भेदो जीवगणा हेरनुचरा नीचोच्चभावं गताः ।

मुक्तिर्नैजमुखानुभूतिरमला भक्तिश्च तत्साधनं

वृक्षादित्रितयं प्रमाणमखिलात्मन्यैकवेद्यो हरिः ॥

In fact, unlike Rāmānuja, Madhva is more theistic and he has created a clear bifurcation between the three entities Brahman, World (Jagat) and the Individual Self (cit). In his opinion, Brahman is supreme, real, eternal and possessed of qualities etc., and even so are the Jīvas and the world real and eternal. Besides this they are distinct from each other and mutually distinct too. This is his unique doctrine called Pāñca-bheda (five distinctions).

His doctrine being more theistic in nature, Madhva always takes the aid of the Ṛgveda, the Bhakti-sūtras, the Pāñcarātra - Samhitās, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas to prove his own doctrine. But the real credit should go to this master-philosopher to the extent that, herein we find a rare combination of philosophy and religion – namely, with the aid of all the Vaiṣṇava religious lore obtaining in the Purāṇas and other works, he has successfully built this marvellous philosophical structure of his own.

Madhva has divided the world into categories like the Vaiśeṣikas, however, introducing a few changes of his own. In solving the problem of cosmology he has taken the aid of the Purāṇic accounts along with that of the Sāṃkhyas in regard to the evolution of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. He adopts the Parināmavāda.

Brahman ( or more properly Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa ) according to Madhva is a substance. He is the supreme being in the universe. His abode is Vaikuṇṭha. Lakṣmī is his consort and she is distinct from him. She has two sons, namely, Brahmā ( the creator ) and Vāyu ( the helper in the attainment of 'philosophical solace' ).

One of the main contributions of Madhvācārya to Indian philosophy is his theory of gradations ( Tāratamya ). 'The souls

being innumerable, he divides them into three categories e.g. 1. the lesser Gods, the Pitṛs, Ṛṣis etc.; 2. those who are destined for salvation; and 3. demons, advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others. In fact there are nine gradations among all the Gods, manes and human beings, according to which even Rudra occupies a subordinate position.' <sup>1</sup>

The idea of mokṣa consists in the direct realization of God, for which right knowledge is necessary. Madhva describes in detail the eighteen modes of life in regard to the process of attainment of the highest goal (i.e. Śama, Dama, Bhakti, Śaraṇāgati etc.). The service of Viṣṇu can be performed in three ways i. e. by stigmatization (Ankaṇa), by giving his names to sons and others (Nāmakaraṇa) and by worship (Bhajana). The other details in this connection are also given.

It should also be noted in this connection that Madhva propounds a distinction between souls here and a distinction between the souls themselves and God even in heavens above.

### III Mysticism In Karnataka

#### (1) Main features of the Dasakuta and Virasaivism

"This body is Yours; so is the life within it; Yours too are the sorrows and joys of our daily life."

"This body of ours and the five senses, which are caught in the net of illusion, all, all is Yours. O, source of all desires that the body bears, is man his own master? Nay, all his being is Yours". <sup>2</sup>

#### Kanakadasa

Perhaps no other mystic could have equally expressed so beautifully the mystical notions in man. The passage in life of a mystic can be compared to that of a lone traveller in this mundane world. But the life of a mystic becomes at once sublime on account of his being anxious of every phase in life. He is willing to embrace all the sorrows, miseries and disappointments as gladly as he should have done in regard to the better side of life. Side by side with this element

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, IV, p. 84.

2. Iyengar, *Popular Culture in Karnataka*, p. 78.

of personal equanimity, dispassionateness and universal love, he also possesses a full faith in the supreme power, to whom he ultimately surrenders his all-in-all. While this is the gist of mysticism, the science of mysticism tries to divide all these factors piecemeal, and thus tries to trace the historical aspect of the man and its working.

Like the other schools in India i.e. the Vārakaris, Rāmānandis, Caitanyas and others, the contribution of Karnāṭaka in the field of mysticism is marvellous indeed. If we leave aside the school of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas – which belongs more to the land of the Tamilians we find that the two schools of the Virāṣaivas and the Dāsakūṭa originated and flourished in this land since the twelfth and the thirteenth century A.D. respectively. Like all the other saints in India i.e. Jñāneśvara, Ekanātha, Tukārāma, Caitanya and others, the mystics belonging to these schools have made all possible use of the pre-Vedic, Upaniṣadic, Buddhist, Āgamic lore and that contained mainly in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and have created their own enchanting structures only to please and please all those who are inclined towards this side in life. These two schools, mainly started by Basaveśvara and Vyāsarāya, have many features in common between them.

In fact, after Buddhism and Jainism, both these schools were the first in Karnāṭaka to adopt the language of the land, namely, Kannada, in expressing their own religious ideas. The main credit, however, must equally go to Allama Prabhu and Basaveśvara, as it should to Naraharitīrtha and Śrīpādarāya. Irrespective of the paraphernalia of the philosophical and religious terminology, namely, in matters of the names of gods (Viṣṇu and Śiva), and modes of worship etc., both these schools preach almost the same principles of Ethics. As in the Virāṣaiva system, mystics like Kanakadāsa and Purandaradāsa have taught the principles of non-distinction of caste in the cause of devotion. Further consciously or unconsciously they have felt the nearness of God, as being both within and without, though the terminology used for expressing this mode of attaining the highest state of bliss is different i.e. Anubhava (Dāsakūṭa) and Anubhāva (Virāṣaivism). Like all the other schools in India both these have given predominance to the Bhaktimārga than the other two i.e. Jñāna and Karma respectively. But the Virāṣaivas differ from the Haridāśas mainly in regard to their notion of God.

In fact like the Caitanyas of Bengal, the Vīraśaivas have given predominance to the love element (as between husband and wife) while expressing their ideas of relationship towards God (cf. *Infra*). Apart from this, the Haridāśas and Vīraśaivas look towards God as father, mother and brother; and they revere him equally from a distance. Though the two schools philosophically disagree with each other—one being Dvaita and the other akin to Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita, they both agree on one point that, the Bliss can be realized and enjoyed here as well as in the next world.

With this brief survey we shall now deal with the main aspects of their teachings.

## ( 2 ) The Dasakuta

It was early in the thirties of the sixteenth century that a group of mystics started a school, namely, the Dāsakūṭa under the Presidentship of the famous Vyāsarāya (1446-1539 A. D.)—though the main ideas underlying the same were already watered and nourished by the great Naraharitīrtha (1331 A. D.) and Śrīpādarāya (c. 1492 A. D.). The Dāsakūṭa, meaning a gathering or group of slaves or servants of Hari began with a mild beginning and consisted of a few disciples among whom were the famous Purandara, Kanaka, Vijayendraswāmi, Vādirāja and Vaikunṭhadāsa. Though the distinction between Dāsarū and Vyāsarū came into existence in the time of Vyāsarāya alone, yet the expression assumed a different meaning afterwards, namely, the two branches of persons using the Kannaḍa or the Sanskrit languages to convey their thoughts were to be called either as Dāsarū or Vyāsarū. A list of of about 200 names of the Haridāśas is discovered uptill now—in which are included the names of three females<sup>1</sup>. The Haridāśas were the staunch followers of the doctrine of Madhva. They have produced a vast literature on different subjects and have composed innumerable songs on mysticism (cf. also *supra* 'Literature').

### Dark Night of the Soul:<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the philosopher always moves in an atmosphere of intellectual thought, the mystic, on the other hand, roams within the

1. Karmakar and Kalandani, *The Haridāśas of Karnaṭaka*, p. 10.

2. The Translations adopted in this chapter are from the "*The Haridāśas of Karnaṭaka*".

world of intuition. In fact, the first stage of mysticism consists of repentance and self-purification. St. John of the Cross designates this as the 'Dark Night of the Soul'. Further the beginning of this stage in the life of man takes place even with a small incident. The particular incidents of the nose-ring, or the regaining of life, or the defeat in battle really acted as land-marks in the lives of the great Purandara, Jagannātha and Kanakadāsa respectively. With the initiation of this stage the Haridāsaś have expressed their complete repentance for their past sins and a consequent disgust with the mundane existence i.e. land, money and woman. Purandara was now tired of visiting the doors of others like a dog,<sup>1</sup> and Śrīpādarāya once even thought of hanging himself to the branches of a tree.<sup>2</sup> Yet out of these troubles and turmoils the Haridāsaś fall back upon the help of God who alone is their saviour. Here is a sublime song of Kanakadāsa wherein he draws a distinction between God and himself;

"I am very humble and poor, and Thou art the giver to all the world. I am without any intelligence. When considered, Thou art the bestower of salvation of great merit. What do I know of Thee? Thou art the image of best intellect. Is there anyone that is like Thee? Oh Lord protect us"<sup>3</sup>.

**Nature of God:** Purandara entreats God with an oath.<sup>4</sup> If God has saved the saints of the past, namely, Pralhāda, Bali, Ajāmila and others, how can he not save him who has surrendered his all-in-all? God is all-pervading, omniscient and omnipotent. He is the Supreme Lord and mother, father and brother of the devotee and the world. The devotee fully relies on God and tries to merge in his divinity-keeping himself aloof as a separate entity. In fact Śrīpādarāya's only prayer is:

"Let my head bow down at Thy feet, Oh Hari, let my eyes of knowledge gaze at Thy figure etc."<sup>5</sup>

Thus he submits all his personal belongings at the feet of God.

1. *Purandara K.* Pt. II, 167. 2. *Śrīpādarāya*, K., 53.

3. *Haribhaktisūtra*, 49.

4. *Purandara K.* Pt. II, 167.

5. *Śrīpādarāya*, K., 14.

**Realization:** And thus the next stage of self-realization begins to dawn upon the mystic. Purandara, Kanaka, Vijayadāsa and Gopāladāsa have all given expression to this stage of realization. Purandara says:

"Purandara Viṭhala dwelling in my heart is obtained, what else is required ? (II, 71) <sup>1</sup>

Or even Kanaka expresses:

"O Hari the highest goal is achieved by me for ever. Thou Thyself art my preceptor. Thou hast captured my mind and made it rest at thy feet, and I am afraid of none." <sup>2</sup>

**Samsāra :** The great Leibnitz has given a correct expression in regard to the cobwebs of this evanescent samsāra : "Would any man of sound understanding, who has lived long enough and has meditated on the worth of human existence, care to go through life's poor play on any conditions whatever"? <sup>3</sup> Even the Haridāsas are equally eloquent on the drifting nature of the mundane world. Nothing is permanent, neither land, money nor woman. Kanaka says :

"This body, having appeared just like a bubble on the surface of water, disappears. And in this big forest of Samsāra, I am lost (*Haribhaktisāra*, 75).

Still the human being is possessed of pride and takes care of his surroundings. But Kanaka just gives a beautiful simile:

"Just like the image of mortar (situated) in a tower appears to have borne the burden of the tower (itself), even so, who is actually bearing the burden of Samsāra (*Haribhaktisāra*, 82).

All the Haridāsas have their own say on this point.

**Rebirth and Karma:** All the Haridāsas are full believers in the doctrine of Rebirth and Karma.

**Ethics:** The very backbone of Hindu philosophy and mysticism consists of a strong foundation of ethics. The Dhamma of the great Buddha was also in our opinion, partly responsible for this.

1. *Purandara*, K. II, 71.

2. *Kanakadāsa*, K. I, 83.

3. Radhakrishnan, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 366.



The Haridāsas have accepted all the modes of life, namely, Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma respectively. They also give a due predominance to the devotional side of life. Purandara, Kanaka and Jagannātha (cf. *Yāva kuladavaḍenu-in Harikathāmṛtasāra*) have clearly laid stress on the non-distinction of caste in the cause of devotion. Kanakadāsa does not believe in the divinity of the lesser gods Durgi. Mari, Cavaḍi, etc. Due predominance is given to the practice of Yoga too. Purandara has admitted the various kinds of Mokṣa (i.e., Sāyujya, Sālokya, Sārūpya and Sāmīpya)<sup>1</sup>. Haridāsas like Vādirāja and others are staunch advocates of Mādhvism alone, though Vādirāja is responsible for the conversion of the gold-smith class in North and South Kanara into the fold of Mādhvism. The Haridāsas have also dealt with the other topics: importance of Name, advice to mind etc. They have composed innumerable songs on Kṛṣṇa and the other Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Prasanna Venkaṭeśa has also written a work on 'Rādhāvilās-campū'.

### (3) Virasaivism

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, however, maintained that this was a 'new system by itself' and that expressions like *Ṣaṭsthala* etc. occurring in it are not to be found in any older system.<sup>2</sup> In our opinion, the system is in no way 'new' to Indian religion and philosophy. It seems to be a direct development of the doctrine preached by the Māhēśvaras. Like the Tāmil Śaivas the Viraśaivas also call themselves as *Māhēśvaras*. It is worth noting that the expression 'Vira' in 'Viraśaiva' looks like an imitation of the original expression 'Vīramāhēśvara'. Further some of the terminologies are borrowed from the cult of the Māhēśvaras. Tirumūlar, while dealing with the system of the Māhēśvaras in the seventh Tantra of his famous work the *Tirumandiram* deals with the topic of the *Ṣaṭ-sthalas* and refers to the six *Liṅgas* i. e. Anḍa Liṅga, Piṇḍa Liṅga, Sadāśiva Liṅga, Ātma Liṅga, Jñāna Liṅga, and Śiva Liṅga respectively. The above terminologies are partly to be found in the system of the Viraśaivas also.

The Viraśaiva school is now affiliated to the 'moderate or sober' school of Śaivas known as the Śaiva-darśana, or Siddhāntadarśana

1. *Puraṇāra* V. 142,

2. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. p. 190.

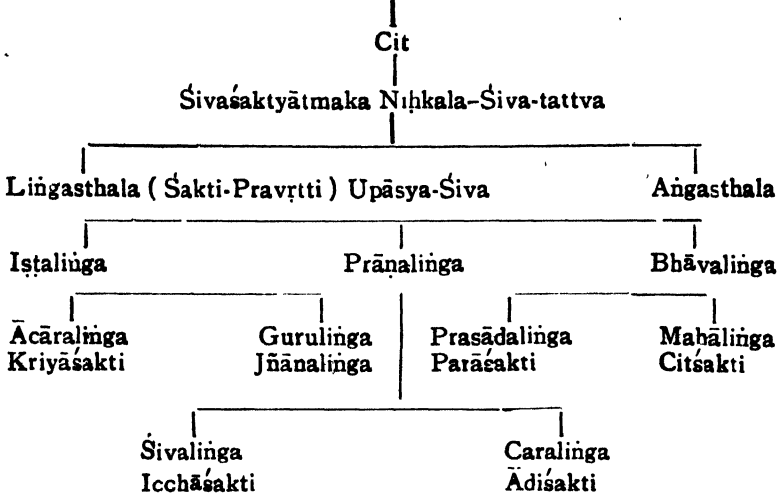
# VIRASAIVISM

## The Doctrine of the Sat - sthalas

( The realization and practice of which leads to salvation )

### I The Lingasthalas

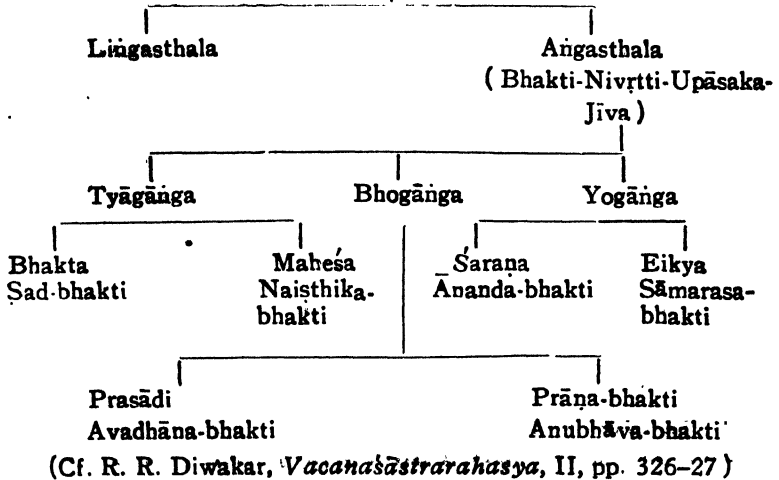
The Supreme Entity Śiva



### II The Angasthalas

The Supreme Entity Śiva

Śivaśaktyātmaka Nihkala Śiva-tattva



( Cf. R. R. Diwakar, *Vacanasāstrarahasya*, II, pp. 326-27 )

as it is called by its followers.<sup>1</sup> The Virāṣaivas (Stalwart Śaivas) are designated as Liṅgāyats.

### Originator of the System

A great controversy has been mooted around the question as to the real founder of the system. Some are inclined to hold that Basava was the main founder of the sect, whereas others like Fleet believe that the real leader of the sect was Ekāntada Rāmāyṣa.<sup>2</sup> There is also a general tradition, namely, that the very ancient ascetics who founded the sect were Ēkōrāma, Paṇḍitārādhya, Revāṇa, Maruḷa, and Viśvārādhya, who are 'held to have sprung from the five heads of Śiva, incarnate age after age'. And according to this tradition Basava only revived the system. Brown proposed that these main founders were Ārādhyaṣ. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar endorsed the view-point by adding: 'Taking all the circumstances into consideration what appears to be the truth is that the Virāṣaiva creed was reduced to a shape by the Ārādhyaṣ, who must have been men of learning and holy living, and the subsequent reformers such as Basava, gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character. And thus these two sects of the Virāṣaiva faith came into existence.'<sup>3</sup> Further, he postulates a period of about one hundred years between the origin and revival respectively of this system. But according to Farquhar, the five founders of the system probably seem to be the contemporaries of Basava, 'some older, some younger'.<sup>4</sup> However, the suggestion of Fleet that Ekāntada Rāmāyṣa happened to be the leader of the new sect appeals to us especially in the light of the story recorded in the inscriptions located in the Somanātha temple at Āblūr (Dharwar District).<sup>5</sup> The inscription belongs to the reign of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmādeva (1181-1203 A. D.) of the Kadamba family of Hāṅgal.

The above story gives us a clear perspective regarding how the basis of the Virāṣaiva faith was being laid. And eventually it was only left for the great Basava to build a strong structure of philosophy on this foundation of Virāṣaiva mysticism. Thus if we can make a distinction between these two i. e. Philosophy and Mysticism - we

1. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

2. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 481.

3. R. G. Bhandarkar, *V. S.* (Collected Works, IV.) p. 191.

4. Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

5. Fleet, 'Inscriptions at Ablur', *E. I. V.*, pp. 213 ff.

may say that the first five Ācāryas, under the leadership of Ēkāntada Rāmayya or Ēkorāma were responsible for promulgating the school of mysticism, whereas Basava built a philosophical edifice over it. However we shall now study the life and personality of this great Basava.

### Basava

Though the Virāśaiva school of mysticism must have come into existence prior to the period of Basava, still the life and teaching of Basava really added a system of glamour to it, so much so, that he was later on considered even as an Avatāra of Vṛṣabha or Nandī. However, peculiarly like many other founders of philosophical schools in India, his life also is shrouded in mystery. Various versions are current and they are recorded in different Kannada works e.g. *Basava Purāṇa*, *Cennabasava Purāṇa*, *Singirāja Purāṇa*, *Basavarāja-deva-Ragaḷe*, *Vṛṣabhendra-Vijaya* and *Bijjalārāya Caritre*. The *Basavarājadeva-Ragaḷe* of Harihara gives a slightly variant version. Otherwise the other Purāṇas detail the traditional account.

Basava was born at Bāgewāḍi to his parents Mādirāja and Madalāmbikā. He was an Ārādhya Brahmin. He was designated as Basava on account of his supposed character as an incarnation of Nandī or Vṛṣabha. The Purāṇas generally maintain that he was the minister of Bijjaḷa, and that he caused the murder of King Bijjaḷa on account of the latter's killing the two devoted Lingāyats Halleya and Madhurayya. The Jain version maintains that he caused the murder of Bijjaḷa because the latter had taken the beautiful sister of Basava as his concubine. As against the opinion of R. G. Bhandarkar, Fleet expresses the view that there is no evidence to prove that Basava caused the murder of Bijjaḷa.<sup>1</sup> Basava is said to have become absorbed in Saṅgmeśvara at Kūḍal though the Jain version states that he committed suicide. His brother Cennabasava also has attained great fame in the annals of Karnāṭaka history.

### The Religious Tenets of the Lingayats

Over three millions of people have imbibed the spirit and cult of Lingāyatism, and they are mainly spread over the whole of the Bombay-Karnāṭaka, the Mysore territory, the Nizam's Domi-

1. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 481.

nions and part of the Madras Presidency. The five original monasteries described to have been established are as follows<sup>2</sup>:

Monasteries	First Mahant
(1) Kedārnāth, Himālayas	Ēkorāma
(2) Śrīsaila, Near Nandyāl	Panditārādhyā
(3) Bālēballi, West Mysore	Revana
(4) Ujjini, Bellary, Boundry Mysore	Māsula
(5) Benares	Viśvārādhyā

Besides, there are monasteries in almost all the villages wherein the Lingāyats are in predominance. And they all belong to one of the five main monasteries detailed above. The Lingāyats are ordinarily divided into four classes e.g. (1) Jāngamas, (2) Śilavants, (3) Baṇajigas and (4) Pañcamaśālis, respectively.

The Jāngamas were not a 'profligate class' as Sir R.G. Bhandarkar once pointed out. As we have seen elsewhere the Śaiva ascetics had spread through every nook and corner in ancient India and evidently the Jāngamas later on formed part and parcel of the same. The Jāngamas were of two types e.g. (1) Jāngama householders and (2) Celebate Jāngamas. The latter class is held in high respect. The celebrate Jāngamas get actual training in a monastery and receive initiation (*dīkṣā*).

They are again subdivided into two classes: (1) Gurusthalas and (2) Viraktas. The former are to look after the domestic rites and are entitled to become Gurus. The latter are to instruct people in matters religious and philosophical. The monasteries (including the five main monasteries) in which the former reside are called Gurusthalas, whereas those in which the latter preach and practise are designated as Saṣṭhalas.

**The Lingayat:** Every Lingāyat has to worship his Guru and the small Linga, which he is ordained to wear 'in a reliquary hung round his neck.' After the birth of the male-child the father's Guru performs the eight-fold (*aṣṭāvaraṇa*) ceremony, i. e. *Guru, Linga, Vibhūti, Rudrākṣa, Mantra, Jāngama, Tirtha and Prasāda*.

These are called the 'eight coverings' as they are deemed to grant protection from any sin.

At the time of the Dikṣā ceremony the *mantra* consists of 'Om Namaḥ Śivāya.' The Guru holds the *Linga* in his left hand, performs worship in the sixteen modes (Śoḍaśopacāra), and hands over the same to his Śiṣya in his left hand enjoining him to look upon it as his own soul, and then ties it round the neck of the disciple with a silken cloth by repeating the *Mantra*. But before taking the Dikṣā the Śiṣya performs the ceremony of five pots-which represent the five monasteries. As Farquhar observes, the five pots are placed exactly as the symbols used by the Smārtas in their private worship are placed.

Lingāyats have to perform the worship of the *Linga* twice every-day. On the arrival of their Gurus, they have to perform the, Pādodaka-ceremony in the usual sixteen-fold manner (Śoḍaśopacāra).

The Lingāyats can be divided into two classes :

(1) The Lingāyats proper, and the (2) Ārādhya Brahmins. They are spread over in the Kanṇaḍa and Telugu Districts. The latter have more affinities with the Smārta Brahmins, and wear a thread (Yajñopavita) clung with the *Linga*. In our opinion, they seem to have been the first people who accepted Brahmanism, and that they retained both the traditions—the original worship of the *Linga* and the later acceptance of the Brahmanical cult of the Upanayana ceremony etc. They need not be considered as 'outcast Lingāyats' as some scholars propose to hold them.

They bury their dead. There is no objection to widow remarriage amongst them.

### Viśāiva Philosophy\*

The supreme Being of the Universe is the absolute, highest Brahman, which is characterised by existence (sat), intelligence (cit) and joy (Ānanda). It is the essence of Śiva (svatatva) and is designated as *sthala*. The word *sthala* is interpreted in various ways :

1. Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
2. We have mainly followed Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's analysis in this connection, cf. V, S. etc. (Ed. Collected Works, Vol. IV) pp. 191 ff.

(1) The various *tattvas* or principles exist in the Supreme Being originally, and even after the dissolution of the universe they resolve themselves into it. Hence by splitting the word *Sthala* as *Stha* (sthāna) + *la* (laya – resolving) we get the right interpretation of the word; (2) secondly, the “name is given to it also as it is the support of the whole material and spiritual world and holds all powers, all luminaries, and all souls. It is the resting place of all beings, of all worlds, and of all possessions. (In fact), it is the highest place to be attained by those who seek the highest happiness, and, therefore, it is called the one only and non-dualist *sthala* (position).”

The *Sthala* becomes divided itself into two, namely, *Līṅga sthala* and *Āṅga-sthala*. This is due to the agitation of its innate power (śakti). *Līṅga sthala* is the Śiva or Rudra and *Āṅga sthala* is the individual soul, the worshipper or adorer. Eventually there is a similar division in Śakti also e. g. into *Kalā* and *Bhakti* which restore themselves to Śiva and the individual souls respectively. The Śakti leads to action and entanglement with the world, whereas *Bhakti* acts in the opposite direction and leads towards final deliverance, and brings about the union of the soul and Śiva.

The *Līṅga* is of Śiva himself. The *Līṅga-sthala* is divided into three components : (1) *Bhāvalīṅga*, (2) *Prāṇalīṅga* and (3) *Iṣṭalīṅga*.

The *Bhāvalīṅga* is without any parts (*kalā*) and is to be perceived by faith. It is simple *sat* (existence), not conditioned by space or time, and is higher than the highest. The second is to be apprehended by the mind and has parts and is without parts. The third has parts and is apprehensible by the eye. This confers all desired (*iṣṭa*) objects and removes afflictions; or it receives its name, because it is worshipped (*iṣṭa*) with care. The *Prāṇalīṅga* is the intelligence (*cit*) of the supreme soul, and *Iṣṭalīṅga* the joy. The first is the highest principle, the second is the subtle form, and the third the gross form, corresponding to the soul, life and the gross form. They are characterized by use (*prayoga*), formulas (*mantras*) and action (*kriyā*). Each of these three is divided into two: the first into *Mahālīṅga* and *Prasādalīṅga*, the second into *Caralīṅga* and *Śivalīṅga*, and third into *Gurulīṅga* and *Ācāralīṅga*. These six are operated on by six kinds of Śaktis, and give rise to the following

six forms : *Cit-śakti*, *Para-śakti*, *Ādi-śakti*, *Icchā-śakti*, *Jñāna-śakti* and *Kriyā-śakti* respectively. These form also the ways of looking at God.

The *summum bonum* of life consists of a union of the individual soul with Śiva (Sāmarasya). But as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar would suggest that, "the goal thus pointed out does not involve a perfect identity between the supreme and the individual souls, or shaking off of individuality and becoming a simple soul unconscious of itself, which is the doctrine of the great non-dualistic school of Śāṅkara."<sup>1</sup> But according to him again there is a difference between the system of Rāmānuja and Vīraśaivism, in so far as, according to the latter, God possesses a power which leads to creation ( and thus, it is the power that characterizes God ) whereas the rudiment of the soul and of the external world is His characteristic according to the former. Therefore, rightly does the learned scholar designate the system of the Lingāyats as a school of qualified spiritual monism.

As noted above the Bhakti forms the main characteristic of the soul. It is a tendency which leads towards the final realization and consists of three stages, and corresponding to these, the Angasthala also is divided into three components. We are giving in a tabular form all the results of this system.

### Virasaiva Mysticism

" Do not think that I am a helpless woman and threaten I fear nothing at your hands. I shall live on dried leaves; and lie in swords. Cennamallikārjuna, if you will, I shall give up both body and life to you, and become pure. "<sup>1</sup>

This was the way in which the great Basava had infused the thrilling note of mysticism in the mind of the masses. The Vīraśaivas, like the other saints of the world. i. e. Plotinus, Jñāneśvara, Mīrābāi, Caitanya, Purandara, Kanaka and others, had imbibed this spirit of optimism in regard to the life in man, let him or she be of any creed, sex or community.

1. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

2. Iyengar, *Popular Culture in Karnataka*, p. 47.



**Dark Night of the Soul:** The Śivaśaraṇas also passed through this stage. Like others they felt the pangs of Samsāra, repented for their past actions; and now with full faith in God they placed themselves at the mercy of God. Here is a sublime psalm by Basava :

" Spread not the green of the pleasures of the senses before me. What does the brute know but to bend to the grass ? Take away my distress, feed me with devotion, and give me a drink of good sense, Oh God Kūḍala Sangama ".<sup>1</sup>

**Nature of God:** The Virāśaiva saints have vehemently expressed their views in regard to the all-pervading characteristic of God. Here is a sublime song by Allama :

" In hill, valley and cave he said, and in flood and field, every where he saw God. Wherever he cast his eyes, there was God. Unseen of eye, invisible to mind, here, there and everywhere was God Guheśvara overflowing in space."<sup>2</sup> Or again, " He knows not diminution nor growth. He does not move. He is the endless victory. Our Guheśvara is the light within light. "

Or sometimes the love element, like that of Caitanya predominates. Cennamallikārjuna expresses :

"I have bathed and rubbed on tumeric and have worn apparel of gold, come my lover ; come my jewel of good fortune ; your coming is to be the coming of my life. Come, Oh come."<sup>3</sup>

**Realization (Antubhāva) :** After these entreaties and self-surrender before God, the devotees enjoy the highest state of Bliss. Here is the perfect song of Mahādeviakkā who sees God everywhere:

"The one has become the five elements. The sun and moon, Oh God, are they not your body ? I stand up and see ; you fill the world. Whom then shall I injure ? O Rāmanath!"<sup>4</sup>

Basava, Allama and others also reached this stage.

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1. Ibid., p. 30.

2. Ibid., p. 38.

3. Ibid. p. 50.

4. Ibid., p. 54.

**Ethics :** The teachings of the Śivaśāstraṇas had a strong and firm ethical background. According to them full faith in God (Bhakti and Bhāva), Jñāna and Karma were the necessary requisites for attaining the final stage of being in tune with the Infinity. They believed in the doctrine of Re-birth and Karma. They did not believe in the existence of many gods. They were against the restrictions of caste in the cause of devotion. Their main contribution to the philosophy of mysticism is their idea of 'communal property'. 'Our earnings are also meant for the devotees of God.' Both Basava and Allama preached it. Besides this they preached the Virāśaiva religion equally sincerely as the Haridāśas did. They also preached that worship of God should be performed with full faith. We shall end this brief survey only with the truthful statement of the eminent Kannada writer Masti Venkatesh Iyengar: "The Virāśaiva movement made a great experiment. In revulsion from a dead formalism which seems to have been the prevailing feature of popular religion in those days, it emphasised the share of the mind and the heart is anything worth the name of religion and invited all people to realization."<sup>1</sup> This marvellous system included people of all castes and communities and it has done a great service to the masses even to this day.

#### IV Religion and Religious Sects

The earliest religion of the land consisted of the worship of the Divine Triad consisting of Śiva, Pārvatī and Kārttikeya, and the Līṅga, Sun and others. The Nāga worship seems to have been in vogue as the representations and inscriptions of the time of the Cuṭu Sātākarnis indicate it. The famous Tālgunda inscription of the Kadambas refers to the Prāṇaveśvara temple 'at which Sātākarni and other kings had formerly worshipped.' The Kadambas were evidently the devotees of Śiva as the traditions of their origin and the expression Mukkanna Kadamba would prove it. The Kadambas and the Cālukyas were the worshippers of Kārttikeya also. Besides the Guttas, Sindas, the Pāṇdyas and other dynasties are closely related to Śaivism. The various sects of the Pāśupatas, Kāḷāmukhas, Goravas and others came into vogue during the early period.

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1. Ibid., p. 56.

Besides, the two of the best Śaiva systems of Siddhāntism and Virāṣaivism originated in Karnāṭaka.

Along with the tradition of Śaivism we find that the worship of the Hindu Trinity Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara came into vogue during the time of the Cālukyas. The caves at Bādāmi and Elephanta are specific instances in this connection. Later the cult of Hari-hara also was introduced in this land. The famous systems of Vaiṣṇavism, Mādhvism and Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism were also ushered in this land. They are still the living religions to-day. Side by side with Hinduism, the other religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam became the features of Karnāṭaka religion. We are not in a position to deal here with all the problems in detail. Still one fact can be very much easily perceived that, with the exception of the Muhomedans, all the followers of the other religious systems seem to have observed religious tolerance. It is really unique that at Belgāmi (or Belgāmvē) there were the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāga and Buddha respectively.<sup>1</sup>

We shall now give a brief survey of the early development of the religions and sects below.

The teachings of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Basava had their own effect on the minds of the people and all these along with Jainism developed and prospered during the historic period. We shall deal with this problem in brief in the following pages.

### (i) Buddhism

As Dr. Altekar has rightly pointed out, 'Buddhism was never so strong in Karnāṭaka proper. The highest number of the Buddhist population in the 7th century A. D. could not have been more than 10,000'.<sup>2</sup> It was since the time of Aśoka that Buddhism began to make its appearance in Karnāṭaka. Aśoka had set up the Edicts at different places, i. e. Siddāpur, Māski, Kopbāl etc. They contain precepts of general Dharma. It is also worth noting that the Kannada merchants from Banavāsi and other places made rich and munificent donations towards the construction of the famous caves at Kārli, Kaṇheri and other Buddhist establishments. The Chinese

1. E. C., VII, sk. 100.

2. Altekar, *op cit.*, p. 271.

Kanakanadi, Gunasena, Elācārya—all of whom contributed to the foundation and later development of the Draviḍa Saṅgha and thus spread the religion in the Tamil, Telugu and other parts of Karnāṭaka. It should be noted in this connection that after the advent of especially Śaivism, Jainism begins to decline.

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